

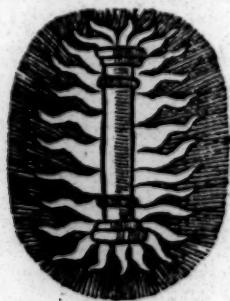
S O M E
L E T T E R S.

Containing,

An account of what seemed most remarkable in Switzerland, Italy, &c.

Written by

G. BURNET, D. D. to T. H. R. B.



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LETTERS

THE

OF



AND

S O M E L E T T E R S,

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Zurich, the first of September, 1685.

S I R,

IT is so common to write travels, that for one who has seen so little and as it were in haste, it may look like a presumptuous affectation to be reckoned among Voyagers, if he attempts to say any thing upon so short a ramble, and concerning places so much visited, and by consequence so well known: yet having had opportunities that do not offer themselves to all that travel, and having joined to those a curiositie almost equal to the advantages I enjoyed, I fancy it will not be an ingrateful entertainment if I give you some account of those things that pleased me most in the places through which I have passed: But I will avoid saying such things as occur in ordinary Books, for which I referre you to the Prints, for as you know that I have no great inclination to copie what others have said: so a traveller has not

leisure nor humour enough for so dull an employment.

As I came all the way from *Paris* to *Lions*, I was amased to see so much misery as appeared, not only in Villages, but even in big Towns, where all the marks of an extream poverty, shewed themselves both in the Buildings, the Cloths, and almost in the looks of the Inhabitants. And a general dispeopling in all the Towns, was a very visible effect of the hardships under which they lay.

I need tell you nothing of the irregular and yet magnificent situation of *Lions*, of the noble Rivers that meet there, of the Rock cut from so vast a height for a prison, of the *Carthusians* Gardens, of the Town-house, of the Jesuites Colledge and Library, of the famous Nunnery of *S. Peter*, of the Churches, particularly *S. Irene's*, of the remnants of the Aqueducts, of the Columns and the old Mosaic in the Abbey *Dene*. In short Mr. *Spon* has given such an account of the curiosities there, that it were a very presumptuous attempt to offer to come after him.

The speech of *Claudius* ingraven on a plate of Brasse, and set in the end of the low walk in the Town-house, is one of the noblest Antiquities in the World, by which we see the way of writing and pointing in that age very copiously. The shield of Silver of 22 pound weight in which some remains of gilding doe yet appear, and that seems to represent that generous action of *Scipio's*, of restoring a fair captive to a Celtiberian Prince, is certainly the noblest piece of Plate that is now extant, the embossing of it is so fine and so entire, that it is indeed invaluable: and if there were an inscription upon it to put us beyond conjecture it were

were yet much more inestimable.

A great many inscriptions are to be seen of the late and Barbarous ages as *Bonum Memorium*, and *Epitaphium hunc*, there are 23. inscriptions in the Garden of the Fathers of *mercy*, but so placed as it shews how little those who possess them doe either understand or value them. I shall only give you one, because I made a little reflection on it, tho it is not perhaps too well grounded, because none of the Criticks have thought on it.

The inscription is this, *D.M. Et Memoriae Aeternae Sutiae Anthidis. Quae vixit Annis XXV. M. XI. DV. Quae dum Nimia piâ fuit, facta est impia: & Artio Probatolo, Cecalins Calistio Conjux & Pater, & sibi vivo ponendum curavit & sub ascia dedicavit.* This must be towards the barbarous age, as appears by the false Latine in *Nimia*: But the inscription seems so extravagant, that a man dedicating a Burial-stone for his Wife and son, and under which himself was to be laid, with ceremonies of Religion, should tax his Wife of impiety, and give so extraordinary an account of her becoming so throw an excess of piety, that it deserves some consideration.

It seems the impiety was publick, otherwise a Husband would not have recorded it in such a manner, and it is plain that he thought it rose from an excess of piety.

I need not examine the conjectures of others: but will chuse rather to give you my own, and submit it to your censure,

It seems to me that this *Sutia Anthis* was a Christian, for the Christians because they would not worship the Gods of the Heathens, nor participate with them in their sacred rites, were ac-

caused both of Atheisme and impiety. This is so often objected, and the Fathers in their Apologies have answered it so often, that it were lost labour to prove it: so this Wife of *Cerealius Calistio* having turned Christian, it seems he thought he was bound to take some notice of it in the inscription: But by it he gives a honourable character of the Christian doctrine at the same time that he seems to accuse it; that through an excess of piety his Wife was carried to it: since a mind seriously possessed with a true sense of piety could not avoid the falling under a distast of Paganisme, and the becoming Christian.

At Grenoble there is not much to be seen, the learned Mr. *Chorier* has some Manuscripts of considerable antiquitie. In one of *Vegetius de re Militari*, there is a clear correction of a passage that in all the printed Editions is not sense. In the chapter of the life of the Souldiers he begins: *Scio semper mensuram a Mario Consule exactam*: *a* is in no MS. and *Mario Consule* is a mistake for *trium Cubitorum*, for III which are for *trium* have been read *M.* and *C.* which stands for *Cubitorum*, as appears by all that follows, was by a mistake read *Consule*; so the true reading of that passage is: *Scio mensuram trium Cubitorum fuisse semper exactam*. He shewed me another M.S. of about 5 or 6 hundred years old, in which *S. John's Revelation* is contained all exemplified in Figures, and after that come *Esop's Fables*, likewise all designed in Figures, from which he inferred that those who designed those two Books, valued both equally and so put them together.

I will not describe the Valley of *Dauphine*, all to *Chambery*, nor entertain you with a Land-

Landschape of the Country, which deserves a better pencil then mine, and in which the height and rudenes of the Mountains that almost shut upon it together with the beauty, the evenness and fruitfulness of the Valley, that is all along well watered with the River of *Lisferre* make such an agreeable mixture, that this vast diversity of objects that do at once fill the Eye, gives it a very entertaining prospect.

Chambery has nothing in it that deserves a long description, and *Geneva* is too well known to be much insisted on. It is a little state, but it has so many good Constitutions in it, that the greatest may justly learn at it. The Chamber of the Corn has always two years provision for the Citie in store, and forces none but the Bakers to buy of it at a taxed price, and so it is both necessarie for any extremities, under which the state may fall, and is likewise of great advantage, for it gives a good yearlie income, that has helpt the State to pay near a Million of debt contracted during the wars, and the Citizens are not oppressed by it, for everie Inhabitant may buy his own Corn as he pleases, only publick houses must buy from the Chamber. And if one will compare the faith of *Rome* and *Geneva* together by this particular, he will be forced to preferre the latter, for if good works are a strong presumption, if not a sure indication of a good faith, then justice, being a good work of the first forme, *Geneva* will certainly carrie it.

At *Rome* the Pope buies in all the Corn of the Patrimonie, for none of the Landlords can sell it either to Merchants or Bakers. He buyes it at 5. Crowns their measure, and even that is slowly

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and ill payed, so that there was 800000. Crowns owing upon that score when I was at *Rome*. In selling this out, the measure is lessened a fifth part, and the price of the whole is doubled, so that what was bought at five Crowns is sold out at twelve: and if the Bakers who are obliged to take a determined quantity of Corn from the Chamber, cannot retail out all that is imposed upon them, but are forced to return some part of it back, the Chamber discounts to them only the first price of five Crowns: whereas in *Geneva* the measure by which they buy and sell is the same, and the gain is so inconsiderable that it is very little beyond the common market price, so that upon the whole matter the Chamber of the Corn is but the Merchant to the State. But if the publick makes a moderate gain by the Corn, that and all the other revenues of this small Commonwealth are so well imployed, that there is no cause of complaint given in the administration of the publick purse: which with the advantages that arise out of the Chamber of the Corn, is about 100000. Crowns revenue. But there is much to go out of this: 300 Souldiers are payed, an Arsenal is maintained, that in proportion to the State is the greatest in the world, for it contains armes for more men then are in the State: there is a great number of Ministers and Professors in all 24. payed out of it, besides all the publick charges and offices of the Government. Every one of the lesser Council of 25. having a 100 Crowns, and every Syndic having 200. Crowns pension: and after all this come the accidental charges, of the Deputies, that they are obliged to send often to *Paris*, to *Savoy* and to *Zwitzerland*, so that it is
 very

very apparent no man can enrich himself at the cost of the Publick. And the appointments of the little Council are a very small recompence for the great attendance that they are obliged to give the Publick, which is commonly 4. or 5. hours a day. The salarie for the Professors and Ministers is indeed small, not above 200. Crowns, but to ballance this, which was a more competent provision when it was first set off 150 years agoe, the price of all things, and the way of living being now much heightned, those imployments are here held in their due reputation, and the richest Citizens in the town breed up their children so as to qualifie them for those places. And a Minister that is suteable to his character is thought so good a match, that generallie they have such Estates either by succession or mariage as support them suteable to the rank they hold. And in *Geneva* there is so great a regulation upon expences of all sorts, that a small sum goes a great way. It is a surprising thing to see so much learning as one finds in *Geneva*, not only among those whose profession obliges them to studie, but among the Magistrats and Citizens, and if there are not many men of the first forme of learning among them, yet every bodie almost here has a good tincture of a learned education, in so much that they are masters of the Latin, they know the controversies of Religion and Historie, and they are generally men of good sense.

There is an universal Civilitie, not only towards strangers, but towards one another, that reigns all the Town over, and leans to an excellence: so that in them one sees a mixture of a French openness, and an Italian exactness: there is indeed a little too much of the last.

The publick Justice of the Citie is quick and good, and is more commended then the private Justice of those that deal in trade: a want of sincerity is much lamented by those that know the Town well. There is no publick leudness tolerated, and the disorders of that sort are managed with great addresse. And notwithstanding their neighbourhood to the *Switzers*, drinking is very little known among them. One of the best parts of their Law is the way of selling Estates, which is likewise practised in *Switzerland*, and is called *Subhastation*, from the Roman custome of selling *Sub hasta*. A man that is to buy an Estate agrees with the owner, and then intimates it to the Government; who order three several proclamations to be made six weeks one after another, of the intended sale, that is to be on such a day: when the day comes, the creditors of the seller, if they apprehend that the Estate is sold at an under value may out-bid the buyer; but if they doe not interpose, the buyer delivers the monie to the State, which upon that gives him his title to the Estate which can never be so much as brought under a debate in Law, and the price is paid into the state, and is by them given either to the debtors of the seller, if he owes money, or to the seller himself.

This custome prevails likewise in *Swisse*, where also twelve years possession gives a prescription, so that in no place of the world are the titles to Estates so secure as here. The constitution of the Government is the same both in *Geneva*, and in most of the Cantons. The soverain tie lies in the Council of 200, and this Council chuses out of its number 25. who are the lesser Coun-

Council; and the censure of the 25 belongs to the great Council, they are chosen by a sort of ballet, so that it is not known for whom they give their votes, which is an effectual method to suppress factions and resentments; since in a competition no man can know who voted for him or against him: yet the election is not so carried, but that the whole Town is in an intrigue concerning it: for since the being of the little Council leads one to the Sindicat, which is the chief honor of the State: this dignitie is courted here, with as active and solicitous an ambition as appears elsewhere for greater matters. The 200 are chosen and censured by the 25. so that these two Councils, which are but for life, are checks one upon another. The Magistracie is in the one, and the Sovereintie in the other. The number of 25. is never exceeded in the lesser Council, but for the greater, tho it passes by the name of the Council of 200, yet there are commonly 8. or 10. more, so that notwithstanding the absence or sickness of some of the number, they may still be able to call together near the full number. There is another Council besides these two, composed of 60. consisting of those of the 200. that have borne offices, such as Auditors, Attorney-Generals, or those that have been in other employments, which are given for a determinate number of years: this Court has no authority, but is called together by the 25, when any extraordinary occasion makes it advisable for them to call for a more general concurrence, in the resolutions that they are about to form. And this Council is of the nature of a Council of State that only gives advice, but has no power in it self to enforce its advices. The whole

whole body of the Burgesſes chuſe the Sindics the firſt Sunday of the year, and there are ſome other Elections that doe likewiſe belong to them. The difference between the Burgeſſes and Citizens is, that the former degree may be bought or given to Strangers, and they are capable to be of the 200, but none is a Citizen but he that is the ſon of a Burgeſſe, and that is born within the Town.

I need ſay no more of the conſtitution of this little Republick, its chief ſupport is in the firm alliance that has ſtood now ſo long between it and the Cantons of *Bern* and *Zurich*, and it is ſo viſibly the intereſt of all *Switzerland* to preſerve it as the Key, by which it may be all laid open, that if the Cantons had not forgotten their Intereſt ſo palpable in ſuffering the French to become Maſters of the *Franche Counté*, one would think that they would not be capable of ſuffering *Geneva* to be toucht: for all that can be done in fortifying the Town, can ſignifie no more, but to put it in caſe to reſiſt a ſurpriſe or ſcalade: ſince if a Royal Armie comes againſt it to beſiege it in forme, it is certain, that unleſs the Switzers come down with a force able to raiſe the ſiege, thoſe within will be able to make a very ſhort reſiſtance.

From *Geneva* I went through the Countrey of *Vaud* or the Valley, and *Lausanne* its chief Town in my way to *Bern*. The Town of *Lausanne* is ſituated on three Hills, ſo that the whole Town is aſcent and deſcent, & that very ſteep, chiefly on the ſide on which the Church ſtands, which is a very noble Fabrique. The South-wall of the Croſſe was ſo ſplit by an Earthquake about 30 years ago, that there was a rent made from top to bottom above a

foot wide: Which was so closed up ten years after by another Earthquake, that now one only sees where the breach was. This extravagant situation of the Town was occasioned by a Legend of some miracles wrought near the Church: which prevailed so much of the credulity of that age, that by it the Church, and so in consequence the Buildings near it were added to the old Town, which stood on the other Hill, where there was a Town made on the high-way from the Lake into *Switzerland*, to which the chief priviledges of the Town, particularly the judicature of life & death, do still belong. Between *Geneva* and this lies the Lake which at the one end is called the Lake of *Geneva*, and at the other the Lake of *Lausanne*. I need not mention the dimensions of it which are so well known, only in some places the depth has never been found, for it is more then 500 fathom, the banks of the Lake, are the beautifullest plots of ground that can be imagined, for they look as if they had been laid by art, the sloping is so easie and so equal, and the grounds are so well cultivated and peopled, that a more delighting prospect cannot be seen any where: the Lake is well stockt with excellent Fish: But their numbers do sensiblie decrease, and one sort is quite lost, it is not only to be ascribed to the ravenousness of the Pikes that abound in it: but to another sort of Fish that they call Moutails which were never taken in the Lake till within these six years last past, they are in the Lake of *Neuf-chastel*, and some of the other Lakes of *Switzerland*, and it is likely that by some conveyance under ground they may have come into Channels that fall into this Lake: the Water of the Lake is all clear and fresh. It is

only a great pond made by the *Rhofne* that runs into it, but does not pass through it unmixed as some Travellers have fondly imagined, because sometimes a soft gale makes a curling of the Waters in some places, which runs smooth in the places over which that soft breath of Wind does not pass, the gale varying its place often. But it is believed that there are also many great Fountains all over the Lake, these Springs do very probably flow from some vast cavities that are in the neighbouring Mountains, which are as great Cisterns that discharge themselves in the Valleys which are covered over with Lakes. And on the two sides of the *Alpes* both North and South, there is so great a number of those little Seas, that it may be easily guessed they must have vast sources that feed so constantly those huge ponds. And when one considers the height of those Hills, the chain of so many of them together, & their extent both in length and breadth; If at first he thinks of the old Fables of laying one Hill upon the top of another, he will be afterwards apt to imagine according to the ingenious conjecture of one that travelled over them oftner then once, that these cannot be the primary productions of the Author of nature: But are the vast ruins of the first World, which at the Deluge broke here into so many inequalities.

One hill not far from *Geneva*, called *Mandit* or Cursed, of which one third is alwayes covered with Snow, is 2 miles of perpendicular height, according to the observation of that incomparable Mathematician and Philosopher *Nicolas Fatio Duilier*, who at 22 years of age is already one of the greatest men of his age, and seems to be born
to

to carry Learning some fises beyond what it has yet attained.

But now I will entertain you a little with the State of *Bern*, for that Canton alone is above a 3d part of all *Switzerland*. I will say nothing of its beginnings nor History : nor will I inlarge upon the Constitutions which are all well known. It has a Counsell of 200 that goes by that name, tho it consists almost of 300, & another of 25 as *Geneva*. The chief Magistrates are two Advoyers who are not annual as the Sindics of *Geneva*, but are for life ; and have an authority not unlike that of the Roman Consuls : each being his year by turns the Advoyer in office. After them there are the 4 Bannerets, who answer to the Tribunes of the people in *Rome* : then come the two Bursars or Treasurers, one for the ancient German Territory, the other for the French Territory or the Country of *Vaud*, and the two last chosen of the 25 are called the Secrets; for to them all secrets relating to the State are discovered: and they have an authority of calling the 200 together when they think fit, and of accusing those of the Magistracy, the Advoyers themselves not excepted, as they see cause: tho this falls out seldome.

There are 72 Bailiages into which the whole Canton of *Bern* is divided, & in every one of those there is a Bailif named by the Council of 200 who must be a Citizen of *Bern* and one of the 200, to which Council no man can be chosen till he is married : these Bailiages are employments both of Honor and profit: for the Bailif is the Governour & Judge in that jurisdiction: since tho he has some Assessors who are chosen out of the Baliage, yet he may by his authority carry matters which way he will

will, against all their opinions, & the Bailiffs have all the confiscations & fines, so that drinking being so common in the Countrey, and that producing many quarrels, the Bailif makes his advantage of all those disorders: & in the 6 years of his Government according to the quality of his Bailiage he not only lives by it, but will carry perhaps 20000 Crowns with him back to Bern: on which he lives till he can carry another Baliage: for one is capable of being twice Bailif, but tho some have been thrice Bailifs, this is very extraordinary. The Exactions of the Bailif are the only Impositions or charges to which the inhabitants are subjected, and these falling only on the irregularities and disorders of the more debauched, makes that this grievance, tho in some particular cases it presses hard, yet is not so universally felt: for a sober and regular man is in no danger. Many in this Cantons are as in *England*, Lords of Castels or Mannors, and have a Jurisdiction annexed to their Estates, and name their Magistrate, who is called the *Castellan*. In matters of small consequence there lies no appeal from him to the Bailif, but beyond the value of two Pistols an appeal lies, and no sentence of death is executed till it is confirmed at *Bern*. There lies also an appeal from the Bailif to the Council at Bern: There are many complaints of the injustice of the Bailifs: but their law is short and clear, so that a sute is soon ended, two or three hearings is the most that even an intricate sute amounts to, either in the first instance before the Bailif, or in the second Judgment at *Bern*. The Citizens of *Bern* consider these Bailiages as their inheritance, and they are courted in this State perhaps with as much

much Intrigue as was ever used among the *Romans* in the distribution of their Provinces : and so little signifie the best Regulations, when there are intrinsick Diseases in a State, that tho there is all possible precaution used in the nomination of these Bailiffs, yet that has not preserved this State from falling under so great a mischief by those little Provinces ; that as it has already in a great measure corrupted their Morals , so it may likely turn in conclusion to the ruine of this Republick : all the Electors give their Voices by Ballot, so that they are free from all after-game in the nomination of the Person: all the Kindred of the Pretenders, even to the remotest degrees, are excluded from voting, as are also all their Creditors, so that none can vote but those who seem to have no Interest in the Issue of the Competition ; and yet there is so much Intrigue and so great a Corruption in the distribution of these Employments, that the whole Business in which all *Bern* is ever in motion, is the catching of the best Baliages, on which a Family will have its Eye for many years before they fall ; for the Counselors of *Bern* give a very small share of their Estates to their Children when they marry them : all that they propose is to make a Baliage sure to them : for this they feast and drink, and spare nothing by which they may make sure a sufficient number of Votes ; but it is the Chamber of the Bannerets that admits the Pretenders to the Competition. When the Bailiff is chosen, he takes all possible Methods to make the best of it he can, and lets few Crimes pass, that carry
either

either Confiscations or Fines after them ; his Justice also is generally suspected. It is true, those of the Baliage may complain to the Council at *Bern*, as the oppressed Provinces did anciently to the Senate of *Rome*, and there have been severe Judgments against some more exorbitant Bailiffs ; yet as Complaints are not made except upon great occasions, which are not often given by the Bailiffs, so it being the general Interest of the Citizens of *Bern* to make all possible Advantages of those Employments, the Censure will be but gentle, except the Complaint is crying.

In *Bern* there is very little Trade, only what is necessary for the support of the Town. They maintain Professors in the Universities of *Bern* and *Lausanne*, the one for the *German* Territory, which is the ancient Canton ; and the other for the new Conquest, which is the *French* : In the former there are about 300 Parishes, in the other there are but about 150 : But in the Benefices of the *German* side the ancient Rights of the Incumbents are generally preserved, so that some Benefices are worth 1000 Crowns : Whereas in the *Pais de Vaud* the Provisions are set off as Salaries, and are generally from 100 to 200 Crowns. It is visible that those of *Bern* trust more to the Affections and Fidelity of their Subjects, than to the strength of their Walls ; for as they have never finished them, so what is built cannot be brought to a regular fortification, and it is not preserved with any care, nor furnished with Cannon ; but if they have none on their Ramparts, they have good store
in

in their Arsenal, in which they say there are Arms for 40000 Men.

The Peasants are generally rich, chiefly in the German side, and are all well Armed, they pay no duties to the publick, and the soil is capable of great cultivation, in which some succeed so well, that I was shewed some that were by accident at *Bern*, who as I was told had of Estate to the value of 100000 Crowns, but that is not ordinary, yet 10000 Crowns for a Peasant is no extraordinary matter: they live much on their Milk and Corn, which in some places, as about *Payern*, yields an encrease of 15 measures after one, they breed many Horses, which bring them in a great deal of money. The worst thing in the Countrey is the moisture of the Air, which is not only occasioned by the many Lakes that are in it, and the Neighbouring Mountains that are covered with Snow, some all the Summer long, and the rest till Midsummer: But by the vast quantity of Woods of Fir-trees, which seem to fill very near the half of their soil, and if these were for the most part rooted out, as they would have much more soil, so their Air would be much purer, yet till they find either Coal or Turf for their fuel this cannot be done. I was told that they had found Coal in some places: If the Coal is conveniently situated, so that by their Lakes and Rivers, it can be easily carried over the Countrey, it may save them a great extent of ground, that as it is covered with Wood, so the Air becomes thereby the more unwholsome.

They

They have some Fountains of Salt-water, but the making Salt consumes so much Wood, that hitherto it has not turn'd to any account.

The Men are generally sincere but heavy, they think it necessary to correct the moisture of the Air with liberal entertainments, and they are well furnished with all necessary ingredients; for as their soil produces good Cattle, so their Lakes abound in Fish, and their Woods in Fowl, the Wine is also light and good. The Women are generally imployed in their domestick affairs, and the Wives even of the chief Magistrates of *Bern*, look into all the concerns of the House and Kitchen, as much as the Wives of the meanest Peasants. Men and Women do not converse promiscuously together, and the Women are so much amused with the management at home, and enter so little into intrigues, that among them, as an eminent Physician there told me, they know not what vapours are, which he imputed to the idleness and the intrigues that abound elsewhere, whereas he said, among them the Blood was cleansed by their labour, and as that made them sleep well, so they did not amuse themselves with much thinking, nor did they know what Amours were: The third Adultery is punished with death, which is also the punishment of the fifth act of Fornication; of which I saw an instance while I was in *Bern*: For a Woman who confessed her self guilty of many Whoredoms, and designed to be revenged on some Men, that did not furnish her liberally with money, was upon that condemned

demned and executed ; the manner was solemn, for the Advoyer comes into an open Bench in the middle of the Street, and for the satisfaction of the people, the whole process was read and sentence was pronounced in the hearing of all : the Councillours both of the great and lesser Council standing about the Advoyer, who after sentence took the criminal very gently by the hand, and praied for her Soul, and after execution there was a Sermon for the instruction of the people.

The whole State is disposed for War, for every man that can bear Armes is listed, and knows his post and armes, and there are Beacons so laid over the Countrey, that the signal can run over the whole Canton in a night : And their military lists are so laid, that every man knows whether he is to come out upon the first or second, or not till the general summons. They assured me at *Bern*, that upon a general summons they could bring above 80000 Men together. The Men are robust and strong, and capable of great hardship, and of good Discipline, and have generally an extream sense of liberty, and a great love to their Countrey ; but they labour under a want of Officers. And tho the subjects of the State are rich, yet the publick is poor, they can well resist a sudden Invasion of their Countrey ; but they would soon grow weary of a long War, and the soil requires so much cultivation, that they could not spare from their labour the Men that would be necessary to preserve their Countrey : they were indeed as
happy

happy as a People could be, when the Empe-
 rour had *Alsace* on the one hand, and the *Spaniards* had the *Franche Comté* on the other, they
 had no reason to fear their Neighbours; but
 now that both these Provinces are in the hands
 of the *French*, the case is quite altered; for as
Basil is every moment in danger from the Gar-
 rison of *Hunningen*, that is but a Cannon-shot
 distant from it, so all the *Pais de Vaud* lies open
 to the *Franche Comté*, and has neither fortified
 Places, nor good Passes to secure it, so that
 their Error in suffering thir to fall into the
 hands of the *French* was so gross, that I took
 some pains to be informed concerning it, and
 will here give you this Account, that I had
 from one who was then in a very eminent Post,
 so that as he certainly knew the Secret, he
 seemed to speak sincerely to me. He told me,
 that the Duke of *Lorrain* had often moved in
 the Councils of War, that the Invasion of
France ought to be made on that side, in which
France lay open, and was very ill fortified:
 teis he repeated often, and it was known in
France; so that the King resolved to possess
 himself of the *Comté*, but used that precaution,
 that fearing to provoke the *Switzers*, he offer-
 ed a Neutrality on that Side: but the *Spaniards*,
 who judged right, that it was as much the In-
 terest of the Cantons, as it was theirs, to pre-
 serve the *Comté* in their hands, refused to con-
 sent to it; but they took no care to defend it,
 and seemed to leave that to the *Switzers*.

In the mean while the *French* Money
 went about very liberally at *Bern*, and af-
 ter

ter those who were most likely to make opposition were gained, the *French* Minister proposed to them the necessity in which his Master found himself engaged to secure himself on that side ; but that still he would grant a Neutrality on their account, if the *Spaniards* would agree to it ; and with this all the Assurances that could be given in words were offered to them, that they should never find the least prejudice from the Neighbourhood of the *French*, but on the contrary all possible protection. There was just cause given by the *Spaniards* to consider them very little in their Deliberation : for they would neither accept of the Neutrality, nor send a considerable Force to preserve the *Comté*, so that it seemed almost inevitable to give way to the *French* Proposition ; but one proposed that, which an unbiassed Assembly would certainly have accepted, That they should go themselves and take the *Comté*, and by so doing they would secure the Neutrality, which was all that the *French* pretended to desire ; and they might easily satisfy the *Spaniards*, and reimburse themselves of the Expence of the Invasion, by restoring the *Comté* to them when a General Peace should be made. He laid out the Misery to which their Country must be reduced by so powerful a Neighbour ; but all was lost labour : so he went out in a rage, and published through the Town, that the State was sold and all was lost. They now see their error too late, and would repair it, if it were possible, but

but the truth is, many of the particular Members of this State, do so prey upon the publick, that unlesse they do with one consent reform those abuses, they will never be in condition to doe much: for in many of their Bailiages, of which some are Abbeys, the Bailifs not only feed on the Subjects, but likewise on the State, and pretend they are so far super-expended, that they discount a great deal of the publick revenue, of which they are the receivers, for their reimbursement: which made Mr. d'Erlack once say, when one of those accounts was presented, that it was very strange if the Abbey could not feed the Monks. It is true, the power of their Bannerets is so great, that one would think they might redress many abuses. The City of Bern is divided into four Bodies, not unlike our Companies of *London*, which are the Bakers, the Butchers, the Tanners, and the Blacksmiths, and every Citisen of Bern does incorporate himself into one of these Societies, which they call Abbeys, for it is likely they were antiently a sort of a Religious fraternity: every one of these chuses two Bannerets, who bear office by turns, from 4. years, to 4. years, and every one of them has a Bailliage annexed to his office, which he holds for life. They carry their name from the Banners of the several Abbeys as the Gonsaloniers of *Italy*: and the Advoyers carry still their name from the ancient titles Ecdicus or Advocate, that was the title of the chief Magistrats of the Towns in the times
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of the Roman Emperors. The Chamber of the four Bannerets that bear office, has a vast power; they examine and passe all accounts, and they admit all the competitors to any offices, so that no man can be proposed to the Council of 200 without their Approbation, and this being now the chief Intrigue of their State, they have so absolute an authority in shutting men out from employments, that their office, which is for life, is no lesse considerable then that of the Advoyer, tho they are inferior to him in rank. They manage matters with great addresse, of which this instance was given me in a competition for the Advoyership not long agoe, there was one whose temper was violent, that had made it so sure among those who were qualified to vote in it, as being neither of his kindred, or alliance, that they believed he would carry it from the other competitor, whom they favoured, so they set up a third competitor whose kindred were the persons that were made sure to him, whose advancement they opposed, and by this means they were all shut out from voting, so that the Election went according to the designe of the Bannerers. The chief man now in *Bern*, who was the reigning Advoyer when I was there is Mr. *d'Erlack*, Nephew to that Mr. *d'Erlack* who was Governour of *Brisack*, & had a brevet to be a Marishal of *France*; this is one of the noblest families in *Bern*, that acted a great part in shaking off the *Austrian* Tyranny, and they have been ever since very much distinguished there from all the rest of their

Nobility; The present Head of it is a very extraordinary Man, he has a great authority in his Canton, not only as he is Advoyer, but by the particular esteem which is payed him: For he is thought the wisest and worthiest Man of the State; tho it is somewhat strange how he should bear such a sway in such a Government, for he neither feasts nor drinks with the rest. He is a Man of great sobriety and gravity, very reserved, and behaves himself liker a Minister of State in a Monarchie, then a Magistrate in a Popular Government. For one sees in him none of those arts, that seem necessary in such a Government. He has a great Estate and no Children, so he has no projects for his Family, and does what he can to correct the abuses of the State, tho the disease is inveterate and seems past cure.

He had a misfortune in a War that was 30 years ago, in the year 1636. between the *Popish* and the *Protestant* Cantons, the occasion of which will engage me in a short digression. The Peace of *Switzerland* is chiefly preserved by a Law agreed on among all the Cantons, that every Canton may make what regulations concerning Religion they think fit, without prejudice to the general league. Now the *Popish* Cantons have made Laws, that it shall be capital to any to change their Religion, and on a set day every year they go all to Mass, and the Masters of Families swear to continue true to the State, and firm in their Religion to their lives end, and so they pretend they punish their falling into Heresie with death

and

and confiscation of goods, because it is a violation of the Faith, which is so solemnly sworn. But on the other hand in the Protestant Cantons such as turn are only obliged to go and live out of the Canton ; but for their Estates they still preserve them, and are permitted to sell them. One cannot but observe more of the merciful spirit of the Gospel in the one than in the other. In two Cantons *Appenzel* and *Glaris* both Religions are tollerated, and are capable of equal priviledges , and in some Baliages that were conquered in common by the Cantons of *Bern* and *Friburg*, in the Wars with *Savoy*, the two Cantons name the Bailifs by turns , and both Religions are so equally tollerated, that in the same Church they have both Masse and Sermon , so equally , that on one Sunday the Masse begins and the Sermon follows , and the next Sunday the Sermon begins and the Masse comes next , without the least disorder or murmuring.

But in year 1656, some of the Canton of *Schwitz* changing their Religion, and retiring to *Zurich*, their Estates were confiscated , and some others that had also changed, but had not left the Canton, were taken and beheaded. *Zurich* demanded the Estates of the refugees , but instead of granting this, the Canton of *Schwitz* demanded back their subjects that they might proceed against them as delinquents , and they founded this on a Law, by which the Cantons are obliged to deliver up the criminals of another Canton when they come among them, if they are demanded by the

Canton to which they belong ; but those of *Zurich* and *Bern* thought this was both inhuman and unchristian, tho the Deputy of *Basle* was of another mind, and thought that they ought to be delivered up, which extreemly disgusted those of *Zurich*. Those of *Schwitz* committed some insolences upon the subjects of *Zurich*, and refused to give satisfaction. Upon all which a War followed between the Protestant and Popish Cantons. The Cantons of *Bern* and *Zurich* raised an Armie of 25000 Men, which was commanded by Mr. *d'Erlack*, but was dispersed in several Bodies : And the Papists had not above 6000, yet they surprised Mr. *d'Erlack* with a body not much superior to theirs, both sides after a short engagement run, the Cannon of the Canton of *Bern* was left in the Field a whole day, at last those of *Lucern* seeing that none stayed to defend the Cannon carried them off ; this loss raised such a Tumult in *Bern* that they seemed resolved to sacrifice Mr. *d'Erlack* ; but he came with such a presence of mind, and gave so satisfying an account of the misfortune, that the tumult ceased, and soon after the War ended. Upon this many thought, that tho the Papists acted cruelly, yet it was according to their Laws, and that no other Canton could pretend to interpose or quarrel with those of *Schwitz* for what they did upon that occasion. Within these few years there were some quarrels like to arise in the Canton of *Glaris*, where it was said that the equal priviledges agreed on to both Religions were not preserved, but on
this

this occasion the Popes *Nuntio* acted a very different part, from that which might have been expected from him: For whereas the Ministers of that Court have been commonly the Incendiaries in all the disputes that concern Religion, he acted rather the part of a Mediator, and whereas it was visible that the injustice lay on the side of the Papists, he interposed so effectually with those of *Lucern*, which is the chief of the Popish Cantons, that the difference was composed.

But to return to *Bern*, the buildings have neither great magnificence nor many Apartments, but they are convenient, and suited to the way of living in that Countrey. The Streets not only of *Bern* and the bigger Towns, but even of the smallest Villages are furnished with Fountains that run continually, which as they are of great use, so they want not their beauty. The great Church of *Bern* is a very noble Fabrick: but being built on the top of the Hill on which the Town stands, it seems the ground began to fail, so to support it they have raised a vast Fabrick, which has cost more than the Church it self; for there is a platform made, which is a square, to which the Church is one side, and the further side is a vast Wall, fortified with buttresses about 150 foot high. They told me that all the ground down to the bottom of the Hill was dug into vaults; this platform is the chief walk of the Town, chieflie about Sun set; and the River underneath presents a very beautiful prospect: For there is a cut taken off from it for the

Mills, but all along as this cut goes the Water of *Aar* runs, over a sloping bank of Stone, which they say, was made at a vast charge, and makes a noble and large Cascade.

The second Church is the *Dominican's* Chapel, where I saw the famous hole that went to an Image in the Church, from one of the Cells of the *Dominicans*, which leads me to set down that Story at some length: For as it was one of the most signal cheats, that the World has known: so it falling out about twenty years before the Reformation was received in *Bern*, it is very probable that it contributed not a little to the preparing of the spirits of the people to that change. I am the more able to give a particular account of it, because I read the original process in the Latine Record, signed by the Notaries of the Court of the Delegates that the Pope sent to try the matter. The Record is above 130 sheets writ close and of all sides, it being indeed a large volume, and I found the printed accounts so defective, that I was at the pains of reading the whole process, of which I will give here a true abstract.

The two famous Orders that had possessed themselves of the esteem of those dark ages, were engaged in a mighty rivalry. The *Dominicans* were the more learned, they were the eminentest Preachers of those times, and had the conduct of the Courts of Inquisition, and the other chief offices in the Church in their hands. But on the other hand the *Franciscans* had an outward appearance of more severity, a ruder habit, stricter rules, and greater

ter poverty : all which gave them such advantages in the eyes of the simple multitude, as were able to ballance the other honours of the *Dominican* Order. In short, the two Orders were engaged in a high rivalry, but the devotion towards the Virgin being the prevailing passion of those times, the *Franciscans* upon this had great advantages. The *Dominicans*, that are all engaged in the defence of *Thomas Aquinas's* opinions, were thereby obliged to assert that she was born in Original Sin; this was proposed to the people by the *Franciscans* as no less then blasphemie, and by this the *Dominicans* began to lose ground extreamly in the minds of the people, who were strongly prepossessed in favour of the immaculate conception.

About the beginning of the 15th Century, a *Franciscan* happened to preach in *Frankfort*, and one *Wigand* a *Dominican* coming into the Church, the *Cordelier* seeing him broke out into exclamations, praising God that he was not of an Order that profained the Virgin, or that poisoned Princes in the Sacrament, (for a *Dominican* had poysoned the Emperour *Henry* the VII. with the Sacrament,) *Wigand* being extreamly provoked with this bloody reproach gave him the lie, upon which a dispute arose which ended in a tumult, that had almost cost the *Dominican* his life, yet he got away. The whole Order resolved to take their revenge, and in a Chapter held at *Vimpsen* in the year 1504. they contrived a method for supporting the credit of their Or-

der, which was much sunk in the opinion of the people, and for bearing down the reputation of the *Franciscans*. Four of the *Juncto* undertook to manage the design; for they said since the people were so much disposed to believe Dreams and Fables they must dream of their side, and endeavour to cheat the people as well as the others had done. They resolved to make *Bern* the Scene in which the project should be put in execution; for they found the people of *Bern* at that time apt to swallow any thing, and not disposed to make severe enquiries into extraordinarie matters. When they had formed their design a fit tool presented it self, for one *Jetzer* came to take their habit as a Lay-brother, who had all the dispositions that were necessarie for the execution of their project: For he was extream simple, and was much inclined to Austerities, so having observed his temper well, they began to execute their project, the very night after he took the habit, which was on *Lady-day* 1507. One of the Friars conveyed himself secretly into his Cell, and appeared to him as if he had been in Purgatorie, in a strange figure, and he had a Box near his mouth upon which as he blew fire seemed to come out of his mouth. He had also some Dogs about him that appeared as his tormenters, in this posture he came near the Friar while he was a Bed, and took up a celebrated Story that they used to tell all their Friars, to beget in them a great dread at the laying aside their habit, which was, that one of the Order, who was

was Superiour of their House at *Soloturn* had gone to *Paris*, but laying aside his Habit was killed in his Lay-habit. The Friar in the *Vizar* said, he was that person, and was condemned to Purgatorie for that crime; but he added that he might be rescued out of it by his means, and he seconded this with most horrible cries expressing the miseries which he suffered. The poor Friar (*Fetzer*) was excessively frightened, but the other advanced and required a promise of him to do that which he should desire of him, in order to the delivering him out of his torment. The frightened Friar promised all that he asked of him, then the other said he knew he was a great Saint, and that his prayers and mortifications would prevail, but they must be very extraordinary. The whole Monastery must for a week together discipline themselves with a Whip, and he must lie prostrate in the form of one on a Cross in one of their Chappels, while Mass was said in the sight of all that should come together to it; and he added, that if he did this he should find the effects of the love that the B. Virgin did bear him, together with many other extraordinary things; and said he would appear again accompanied with two other Spirits, and assured him that all that he did suffer for his deliverance should be most gloriously rewarded. Morning was no sooner come then that the Friar gave an account of this Apparition to the rest of the Convent, who seemed extreamly surprised at it, they all pressed him to undergo

pline that was enjoyned him, and every one undertook to bear his share, so the deluded Frier performed it all exactly in one of the Chappels of their Church: This drew a vast number of Spectators together, who all considered the poor Frier as a Saint, and in the mean while the four Friers that managed the Imposture magnified the Miralce of the Apparition to the Skies in their Sermons. The Friers Confessor was upon the secret, and by this means they knew all the little passages of the poor Friers Life, even to his Thoughts, which helped them not a little in the Conduct of the matter. The Confessor gave him an Hostie, with a piece of Wood, that was, as he pretended, a true piece of the Cross, and by these he was to fortifie himself, if any other Apparitions should come to him, since evil Spirits would be certainly chained up by them. The Night after that the former Apparition was renewed, and the masqued Frier brought two others with him in such Vizzards that the Frier thought they were Devils indeed. The Frier presented the Hostie to them, which gave them such a check that he was fully satisfied of the Vertue of this preservative.

The Frier, that pretended he was suffering in Purgatorie, said so many things to him relating to the secrets of his Life, and Thoughts, which he had from the Confessor; that the poor Frier was fully possessed in the Opinion of the realitie of the Apparation. In two of these Apparitions that were both managed in the same manner the Frier in the Masque
talked

talked much of the *Dominican* Order, which he said was excessively dear to the *B. Virgin*, who knew her self to be conceived in Original sin, and that the Doctors who taught the contrarie were in Purgatorie: That the Storie of *St. Bernards* appearing with a spot on him, for having opposed himself to the feast of the Conception, was a Forgerie: but that it was true that some hideous flies had appeared on *St. Bonaventure's* Tomb who taught the contrarie, that the *B. Virgin* abhorred the *Cordeliers* for making her equal to her Son, that *Scotus* was damned whose Canonisation the *Cordeliers* were then soliciting hard at *Rome*, and that the Town of *Bern* would be destroyed for harbouring such plagues within their walls. When the enjoined discipline was fully performed, the Spirit appeared again and said he was now delivered out of Purgatorie, but before he could be admitted to Heaven he must receive the Sacrament, having died without it; and after that he would say Masse for those, who had by their great charities rescued him out of his pains. The Frier fancied the voice resembled the Priors a little; but he was then so far from suspecting any thing, that he gave no great heed to this suspicion. Some dayes after this the same Frier appeared as a Nun all in Glorie, and told the poor Frier that she was *St. Barbara*, for whom he had a particular devotion, and added that the *B. Virgin* was so much pleased with his charity, that she intended to come and visit him: He immediately called the

wrap-

Convent together, and gave the rest of the Friars an account of this Apparition, which was entertained by them all with great joy; and the Friar languished in desires for the accomplishment of the promise, that *St. Barbara* had made him. After some dayes the longed for delusion appeared to him, clothed as the Virgin used to be on the great Feasts, and indeed in the same Habits: there were about her some Angels, which he afterwards found were the little Statues of Angels which they set on the Altars, on the great holy daies. There was also a pulley fastned in the room over his head, and a cord tied to the Angels, that made them rise up in the air, and flie about the Virgin, which encreased the delusion. The Virgin, after some endearments to himself, extolling the merit of his charity and discipline, told him that she was conceived in original sin, and that Pope *Julius* the Second, that then reigned, was to put an end to the dispute, and was to abolish the feast of her conception, which *Sixtus* the Fourth had instituted, and that the Friar was to be the Instrument of perswading the Pope of the truth in that matter: She gave him three drops of her Sons blood, which were three tears of blood that he had shed over *Jerusalem*, and this signified that she was three hours in original sin, after which she was, by his mercy, delivered out of that State: For it seems the *Dominicans* were resolved so to compound the matter, that they should gain the main point of her conception in sin, yet they would

would comply so far with the reverence for the Virgin, with which the World was possessed, that she should be believed to have remained a very short while in that State. She gave him also five drops of Blood in the form of a Cross, which were tears of Blood, that she had shed while her Son was on the Cross. And, to convince him more fully, she presented an Hostie to him, that appeared as an ordinary Hostie, and of a sudden it appeared to be of a deep red colour. The cheat of those supposed visits was often repeated to the abused Friar, at last the Virgin told him that she was to give him such marks of her Sons love to him, that the matter should be past all doubt. She said that the five wounds of St. *Lucia* and S. *Catherine* were real wounds, and that she would also imprint them on him, so she bid him reach his hand; he had no great mind to receive a favour in which he was to suffer so much: but she forced his hand and struck a nail thro it, the hole was as big as a grain of pease, and he saw the Candle clearly thro it, this threw him out of a supposed transport into a real Agony; but she seemed to touch his hand, and he thought he smelt an oynment, with which she anointed it, tho his Confessor perswaded him that that was only an imagination, so the supposed Virgin left him for that time.

The next night the Apparition returned, and brought some linnen Clothes, which had some real or imaginary vertue to allay his torment, and the pretended Virgin said, they were some of the linnen in which Christ was
wrap-

wrapped, and with that she gave him a Soporiferous Draught, and while he was fast a sleep, the other four wounds were imprinted on his Body in such a manner that he felt no pain.

But in order to the doing of this the Friars betook themselves to Charms, and the Subprior shewed the rest a Book full of them, but he said, that before they could be effectual they must renounce God, and he not only did this himself, but by a formal Act put in Writing signed it with his Blood he dedicated himself to the Devil; it is true, he did not oblige the rest to this, but only to renounce God. The composition of the Draught was a mixture of some Fountain-water and Chrism, the Hairs of the Eyebrows of a Child, some Quicksilver, some Grains of Incense, somewhat of an *Easter* Wax-Candle, some consecrated Salt, and the Blood of an unbaptised Child. This Composition was a secret, which the Subprior did not communicate to the other Friars. By this the poor Frier *Jetzer* was made almost quite insensible: when he was awake, and came out of this deep sleep, he felt this wonderful impression on his Body, and now he was ravished out of measure, and came to fancy himself to be acting all the parts of our Saviours Passion; he was exposed to the People on the great Altar, to the amasement of the whole Town, and to the no small mortification of the *Franciscans*. The *Dominicans* gave him some other Draughts that threw him into Convulsions, and when he came out of those a

Voice.

Voice was heard, which came through that hole which yet remains and runs from one of the Cells along a great part of the Wall of the Church; for a Frier spoke thro a Pipe, and at the end of the Hole there was an Image of the Virgins with a little Jesus in her Arms, between whom and his Mother the Voice seemed to come, the Image also seemed to shed Tears, and a Painter had drawn those on her Face so lively, that the People were deceived by it. The little Jesus askt why she wept, and she said it was because his Honour was given to her, since it was said, that she was born without Sin; in Conclusion the Eriers did so over act this matter, that at last even the poor deluded Frier himself came to discover it, and resolved to quit the Order.

It was in vain to delude him with more Apparitions, for he well nigh killed a Frier that came to him personating the Virgin in another shape with a Crown on her Head: He also over-heard the Friars once talking amongst themselves of the Contrivance and Success of the Imposture, so plainly, that he discovered the whole Matter; and upon that, as may be easily imagined, he was filled with all the horror with which such a discovery could inspire him.

The Friars fearing that an Imposture which was carried on hitherto with so much success, should be quite spoiled, and be turned against them, thought the surest way was to own the whole matter to him, and to engage him to carry on the Cheat. They told him
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In what esteem he would be, if he continued to support the reputation that he had acquired, that he would become the chief person of the Order, and in the end they persuaded him to go on with the imposture: but at last they, fearing least he should discover all, resolved to poyson him: of which he was so apprehensive, that once a Loafe being brought him that was prepared with some spices, he kept it for some time, and it growing green he threw it to some young wolves whelps that were in the Monastery who died immediately. His Constitution was also so vigorous, that tho they gave him poyson five several times he was not destroyed by it, they also prest him earnestly to renounce God which they judged necessary, that so their Charms might have their effect on him; but he would never consent to that, at last they forced him to take a poisoned Hosty, which yet he vomited up soon after he had swallowed it down, that failing they used him so cruelly, whipping him with an Iron Chain, and girding him about so strait with it, that to avoid further torment he swore to them in a most imprecating stile, that he would never discover the secret; but would still carry it on, and so he deluded them till he found an opportunity of getting out of the Convent, and of throwing himself into the hands of the Magistrates, to whom he discovered all.

The four Friars were seised on, and put in Prison, and an account of the whole Matter was sent, first to the Bishop of *Lawfanne*, and

and then to *Rome*, and it may be easily imagined that the *Franciscans* took all possible care to have it well examined, the Bishops of *Lausanne* and of *Zyon* with the Provincial of the *Dominicans* were appointed to form the Process. The four Friars first excepted to *Jetzers* credit; but that was rejected, then being threatned with the question they put in a long Plea against that; but tho the Provincial would not consent to that; yet they were put to the question, some endured it long, but at last they all confessed the whole progress of the imposture. The Provincial appeared concerned; for tho *Jetzer* had opened the whole Matter to him, yet he would give no credit to him, on the contrary he Charged him to be obedient to them, and one of the Friars said plainly, that he was on the whole secret, and so he withdrew, but he died some days after at *Constance*, having poisoned himself, as was believed. The Matter lay asleep some time, but a year after that a *Spanish* Bishop came, authorised with full powers from *Rome*, and the whole Cheat being fully proved, the four Friars were solemnly degraded from their Priesthood, and Eight days after, it being the last of *May* 1509, they were burnt in a Meadow on the other side of the River over against the great Church; The place of their Execution was shewed me, as well as the hole in the wall, thro which the Voice was Conveyed to the Image. It was certainly one of the blackest and yet the best Carried on Cheat that has been

been ever known, and no doubt had the poor Frier died before the discovery, it had passed down to posterity as one of the greatest Miracles that ever was, and it gives a shrewd suspicion that many of the other Miracles of that Church were of the same nature, but more successfully finished.

I shall not entertain you any further with the State of *Bern*, but shall only add one general remark, which was too visible not to be observed every where, and of too great importance not to deserve a particular reflection; it belongs in general to all the *Cantons*, but I give it here because I had more occasion to make it in *Bern*, having seen it more, and staid longer in it, than in the other *Cantons*.

Switzerland lies between *France* and *Italy* that are both of them Countries incomparably more rich, and better furnished with all the Pleasures and Conveniences of Life than it is, and yet *Italy* is almost quite dispeopled and the People in it are reduced to a misery that can scarce be imagined by those who have not seen it; and *France* is in a great measure dispeopled, and the Inhabitants are reduced to a Poverty that appears in all the marks in which it can shew it self, both in their Houses, Furniture, Cloaths and Looks.

On the contrary, *Switzerland* is extream full of People, and in every place in the Villages as well as in their Towns one sees all the marks he can look for of Plenty and Wealth, their Houses and Windows are in good case, the High ways

ways are well maintained, all People are well Clothed, and every one lives at his ease. This observation surpris'd me yet more in the Countrey of the *Grisons*, who have almost no Soil at all, being situated in Valleys that are almost all washed away with the torrents that fall down from the Hills, and swell their Brooks sometimes so violently and so suddenly, that in many places the whole Soil is washed away, and yet those Valleys are well peopled, and every one lives happy and at ease, under a gentle Government, whilst other rich and plentiful Countries are reduced to such misery, that as many of the inhabitants are forced to change their Seats, so those who stay behind can scarce live and pay those grievous Impositions that are laid upon them, the rude People generally reason very simply when they enter into speculations of Government, but they feel true, tho they argue false, so an easie Government tho joyn'd to an ill Soil, and accompanied with great inconveniences, draws, or at least keeps People in it, whereas a severe Government, tho in general Ideas it may appear reasonable, drives its subjects even out of the best and most desirable Seats.

In my way from *Bern* to this place I pass'd by *Soloturn*, as I came through *Fribourg* in my way from *Lausanne* to *Bern*, these are two of the chief of the Popish Cantons, after *Lucerne*, and one sees in them a heat and bigotry beyond what appears either in *France* or *Italy*; long before they come within the Church Doors they kneel down in the Streets when

when Masse is a saying in it. The Images are also extream grosse. In the Chief Church of *Soloturn* there is an Image of God the Father, as an old man with a great black beard, having our Saviour on his knees, and a Pigion over his head. Here also begins a devotion at the Ave-Mary-bel which is scarce known in *France*, but is practised all *Italy* over : At noon and at Sun set the Bell rings, and all say the Ave-Mary, and a short prayer to the Virgin ; but whereas in *Italy* they content themselves with putting off their Hats, in *Switzerland* they do for the most part kneel down in the Streets, which I saw no where practised in *Italy*, except at *Venice*, and there it is not commonly done. But notwithstanding this extream bigotry all the *Switzers* see their common interest so well, that they live in a very good understanding one with another. This is indeed chiefly owing to the Canton of *Lucern*, where there is a spirit in the Government very different from what is in most of the other Popish Cantons : the residence of the *Spanish* Ambassadeur and of the Nuntio in that Town, contributes also much to the preserving it in so good a temper, it being their interest to unite *Switzerland*, and by this means the heat and indiscretion of the rest is often moderated. The Jesuits begin to grow as powerful in *Switzerland* as they are elsewhere : they have a noble Colledge and Chappel situated in the best place of *Friburg*. It is not long since they were received at *Soloturn*, where there was a revenue of 1000 Livres a year, set off for the main-

maintenance of ten of them, with this provision that they should never exceed that number; but where they are once settled they find means to break through all limitations, and they are now become so rich there, that they are raising a Church and Colledge, which will cost before it is finished above 400000 Livres, to which the *French King* gives 10000 Livres for the frontis-piece: For this being the Canton in which his Ambassadour resides, he thought it futable to his glory to have a monument of his bounty raised by an Order that will never be wanting to flatter their benefactors, as long as they find their account in it.

In the same Canton there is an Abbey that has 100000 Livres of revenue, there is also a very rich House of Nuns that wear the Capuchins Habit, that as I was told had 60000 Livres of revenue, and but 60 Nuns in it, who having thus 1000 Livres a piece may live in all possible plenty in a Countrey where a very little money goes a great way: But that which surprizes one most at *Soloturn*, is the great fortification that they are building of a Wall about the Town, the noblest and solidest that is any where to be seen, the Stone with which it is faced is a sort of coarse Marble, but of that bigness that many Stones are 10 foot long, and two foot of breadth and thickness: But tho this will be a work of vast expence and great beauty, yet it would signify little against a great Armie that would attack it vigorously. The Wall is finished on the side of the River on which the Town stands,

stands, the Ditch is very broad, and the Counterſcarp and Glaſier are alſo finiſhed, and they are working at a Fort on the other ſide of the River, which they intend to fortifie in the ſame manner. This has coſt them near two Millions of Livres, and this vaſt expence has made them often repent the undertaking, and it is certain that a fortification that is able to reſiſt the rage of their *Peaſants* in the caſe of a Rebellion is all that is needful. This Canton has two Advoyers as *Bern*, the little Council conſiſts of 36, they have 12 Baliages belonging to them, which are very profitable to thoſe that can carry them, they have one Burſar, and but one Banneret. All the Cantons have their Baliages, but if there are diſorders at *Bern* in the choice of their Bailiſs, there are far greater among the *Papiſh* Cantons where all things are ſold, as a foreign Miniſter that reſides there told me, who tho he knew what my Religion was, did not ſtick to own franckly to me, that the *Catholick* Cantons were not near ſo well governed as the *Proteſtant* Cantons. Juſtice is generally ſold among them, and in their Treaties with foreign Princes, they have ſometimes taken money both from the *French* and *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors, and have ſigned contradictory Articles at the ſame time.

Baden has nothing in it that is remarkable except its convenient ſituation which makes it the ſeat of the general Dyet of the Cantons tho it is not one of them, but is a Baliage that belongs in common to eight of the ancient

Cantons. At last I came to this place, which as it is the first and most honourable of all the Cantons, so with relation to us it has a precedence of a higher nature, it being the first that received the Reformation.

This Canton is much less then *Bern*, yet the Publick is much richer: they reckon that they can bring 50000 Men together upon 24 hours warning, their Subjects live happy: for the Bailifs here have regulated appointments, and have only the hundredth penny of the fines, so that they are not tempted as those of *Bern* are, to whom the fine belongs intirely, to train matters against their Subjects, and whereas at *Bern* the constant intrigue of the whole Town is concerning their Baliages, here on the contrary it is a service to which the *Citizens* are bound to submit according to their constitution, but to which they do not aspire. The Government is almost the same as at *Bern*, and the Magistrate that is called the Advoyer at *Bern*, is here called the Bourgo-master. The revenue of the State is here justly accounted for, so that the Publick Purse is much richer then at *Bern*; the *Arsenal* is much better furnished, and the Fortifications are more regular. There is a great trade stirring here, and as their Lake that is 24 miles long and about two or three broad, supplies them well with Provisions, so their River carries their Manufacture to the *Rhine*, from whence it is conveyed as they please. One of their chief Manufacturies is Crape, which is in all respects the best I ever saw. I will not describe the

the situation of the Town, but shall content my self to tell you that it is extream pleasant, the Countrey about it is Mountainous, and the Winters are hard, for the Lake freezes quite over, only in some places the Ice never lies, which is believed a mark that some Springs rise there, which cause that heat, so also in the Lake of *Geneva*, though it is never quite frozen, yet great boards of Ice lie in several parts, but these are never seen in some parts of the Lake, which is supposed to flow from the same cause.

But to return to *Zurich*, one sees here the true antient simplicity of the *Switzers*; not corrupted with luxury or vanity, their Women not only do not converse familiarly with men, except those of their near kindred, but even in the Streets do not make any returns to the civility of Strangers, for it is only Strangers that put off their Hats to Women, but they make no courtesies: and here, as in all *Switzerland*, Women are not saluted, but the civility is expressed by taking them by the Hand. There is one thing singular in the constitution of *Zurich*, that is their little Council consists of 50 persons, but there sit in it only 25 at a time, and so the two halves of this Council, as each of them has his proper *Bourgomaster*, have also the Government in their Hands by turns, and they shift every six months, at Midsummer and at Christ-Mass. The whole Canton is divided into nine great *Baliages* and 21 *Castellaneries*, in the former the *Bailif* resides constantly, but the *Castellan*, who is also one of the great Coun

Council, has so little to do that he lives at *Zurich*, and goes only at some set times of the year to do justice.

The vertue of this Canton has appeared signally in their adhering firmly to the ancient capitulations with the *French*, and not slackening in any article, which has been done by all the other Cantons, where money has a Sovereigne influence : but here it has never prevailed. They have converted the ancient revenues of the Church more generally to pious uses than has been done any where else, that I know of. They have many Hospitals well entertained, in one as I was told, there was 650 poor kept : but as they support the real charities, which belongs to such endowments, so they despise that vain magnificence of buildings which is too generally affected elsewhere ; for theirs are very plain, and one of the Government there said to me very sensibly, that they thought it enough to maintain their poor as poor, and did not judge it proper to lodge them as Princes.

The Dean and Chapter are likewise still continued as a corporation, and enjoy the revenues which they had before the Reformation, but if they subsist plentifully they labour hard, for they have generally two or three Sermons a day, and at least one : the first begins at five a clock in the morning. From *Geneva*, and all *Switzerland* over, there are daylie Sermons, which were substituted upon the Reformation to the Masse. But the Sermons are generally too long, and

the Preachers have departed from the first design of these Sermons, which were intended to be an explication of a whole Chapter, and an exhortation upon it, and if this were so contrived that it were in all not above a quarter of an Hour long, as it would be heard by the people with less weariness and more profit, so it would be a vast advantage to the Preachers; For as it would oblige them to study the Scriptures much, so having once made themselves Masters of the practical parts of the Scripture, such short and simple discourse would cost them less pains, than those more laboured Sermons do, which consume the greatest part of their time, and too often to very little purpose.

Among the Archives of the Dean and Chapter, there is a vast collection of Letters, written either to *Bullinger* or by him; they are bound up, and make a great many Volumes in Folio, and out of these no doubt but one might discover a great many particulars relating to the History of the Reformation: For as *Bullinger* lived long, so he was much esteemed. He procured a very kind reception to be given to some of our *English* Exiles in Queen *Mary's* Reigne, in particular to *Samuel* afterwards Arch-bishop of *York*, to *Horn* afterwards Bishop of *Winchester*, and to *Jean* Bishop of *Salisbury*. He gave them lodging in the Close, and used them with all possible kindness, and as they presented some Silver Cups to the Colledge, with an Inscription acknowledging the kind reception they had found

found there, which I saw, so they continued to keep a constant correspondence with *Bullinger*, after the happy re-establishment of the Reformation under Queen *Elisabeth*: Of which I read almost a whole Volume while I was there: Most of them contain only the general news, but some were more important and relate to the disputes then on foot, concerning the Habits of the Clergy, which gave the first beginnings to our unhappy divisions: and by the Letters, of which I read the Originals, it appears that the Bishops preserved the ancient Habits rather in compliance with the Queens inclinations, then out of any liking they had to them; so far they were from liking them that they plainly exprest their dislike of them. Jewel, in a Letter bearing date the 8. of *February* 1566. wishes that the Vestments together with all the other remnants of Popery might be thrown both out of their Churches, and out of the minds of the people, and laments the Queens fixedness to them: so that she would suffer no change to be made. And in *January* the same year, *Sands* writes to the same purpose. *Contenditur de vestibus Papisticis utendis vel non utendis, dabit Deus his quoque finem.* Disputes are now on foot concerning the *Papish* vestments whither they should be used or not, but God will put an end to those things. *Horn* Bishop of *Winchester* went further: For in a Letter dated the 16 of *July*, 1565. He writes of the act concerning the Habits, with great regret, and expresses some hopes

that it might be repealed next Session of Parliament, if the *Popish* party did not hinder it and he seems to stand in doubt whether he should conform himself to it or not, upon which he desires *Bullingers* advice. And many Letters writ on that subject, it is asserted, That both *Cranmer* and *Ridley* intended to procure an Act for abolishing the Habits, and that they only defended their Lawfulness, but not their fitness, and therefore they blame private persons that refused to obey the Law. *Grindal* in a Letter dated the 27 of *August* 1566. writes, That all the Bishops, who had been beyond Sea, had at their return dealt with the Queen to let the matter of the Habits fall but she was so prepossessed that tho they had endeavoured to divert her from prosecuting that matter, she continued still inflexible. This had made them resolve to submit to the Laws, and to wait for a fit opportunity to reverse them. He laments the ill effects of the opposition that some had made to them, which had extreemly irritated the Queens spirit, so that she was now much more heated in those matters then formerly, he also thanks *Bullinger* for the Letter that he had writ justifying the Lawful use of the Habits, which, he sayes, had done great service. *Cox*, Bishop of *Ely*, in one of his Letters, laments the aversion that they found in the Parliament to all the propositions that were made for the Reformation of abuses. *Jewel*, in a Letter dated the 22 of *May* 1559. writes, That the Queen refused to be called Head of the Church, and

adds. That, that Title could not be justly given to any mortal, it being due only to Christ, and that such Titles had been so much abused by Antichrist, that they ought not to be any longer continued. On all these passages I will make no reflections here: For I set them down only to shew what was the sense of our Chief Church-men at that time concerning those matters, which have since engaged us into such warm and angry disputes, and this may be no inconsiderable instruction to one that intends to write the Historie of that time. The last particular with which I intend to end this Letter, might seem a little too learned, if I were writing to a less knowing Man than your self.

I have taken some pains in my travels to examine all the Antient Manuscripts of the New Testament, concerning that doubted passage of St. John's Epistle, *There are three that bear witness in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, and these three are one.* Bullinger doubted much of it, because he found it not in an antient Latin Manuscript at Zurich, which seems to be about 800 years old: for it is written in that hand that began to be used in Charles the Great's time. I turned the Manuscript, and found the passage was not there; but this was certainly the error or omission of the Copier: For before the General Epistles in that Manuscript the preface of St. Jerome's is to be found, in which he says that he was the more exact in that translation, that so he might discover the

fraud of the *Arrians* who had struck out that
 passage concerning the Trinity. This Preface
 is printed in *Lira's* Bible : but how it came to be
 left out by *Erasmus* in his Edition of that Fa-
 ther's works is that of which I can give no ac-
 count : For as on the one hand *Erasmus's* sincer-
 itie ought not to be too rashly censured, so on
 the other hand that Preface being in all the
 Manuscripts Antient or Modern of those Bibles
 that have the other Prefaces in them that I ever
 yet saw, it is not easie to imagine what made
Erasmus not to published it, and it is in the Manu-
 script Bibles at *Basle*, where he printed his Edi-
 tion of *S. Jerome's* works. In the old Manuscript
 Bible of *Geneva*, that seems to be above 700
 years old, both the Preface and the passage
 are extant, but with this difference from the
 common Editions, that the common Editions
 set the verse concerning *the Father, the Word,*
and the Spirit, before that of *the Water, the*
Blood, and the Spirit; which comes after it in
 this Copie : and that I may in this place end
 all the readings I found of this passage in my
 travels, there is a Manuscript in *St. Mark's*
 Librarie in *Venice* in three Languages, Greek,
 Latin, and Arabick, that seems not above 400
 years old, in which this passage is not in the
 Greek, but it is in the Latin set after the other
 three, with a *sicut* to join it to what goes be-
 fore. And in a Manuscript Latin Bible in the
 Librarie of *St. Laurence* at *Florence* both *S.*
Jerome's Preface and this passage are extant :
 but this passage comes after the other, and is
 pinned to it with a *sicut* as is that of *Venice* : yet

sicut is not in the *Geneneva* Manuscript. There are two Greek Manuscripts of the Epistles of *Basle*, that seem to be about 500 years old, in neither of which this passage is to be found: they have also an Ancient Latine Bible, which is about 800 years old, in which tho St. *Jerom's* Prologue is inserted, yet this passage is wanting. At *Strasburg* I saw 4 very Ancient Manuscripts of the New Testament in Latine: three of these seemed to be about the time of *Charles* the Great, but the fourth seemed to be much Antienter, and may belong to the seventh Century: in it neither the Prologue nor the place is extant: but it is added at the foot of the page with another hand. In two of the other the Prologue is extant, but the place is not: only in one of them it is added on the Margent. In the fourth as the Prologue is extant, so is the place likewise, but it comes after the verse of the other three, and is joined to it thus, *sicut tres sunt in cælo*.

It seem'd strange to me, and it is almost incredible, that in the *Vatican* Library there are no Antient Latin Bibles, where above all other places they ought to be lookt for: but I saw none above 400 year old. There is indeed the famous Greek Manuscript of great value, which the *Chanoine Shelfrat*, that was Librarie-keeper, asserted to be 1400. year old, and proved it by the great similitude of the Characters with those that are upon S. *Hippolites* Statue, which is so evident, that if his Statue was made about his time the Antiquitie of this Manuscript is not to be disputed.

ted. If the Characters are not so fair and have not all the marks of Antiquity that appears in the Kings Manuscript at St. James's, yet this has been much better preserved, and is much more entire. The passage that has led me into this digression, is not to be found in the Vatican Manuscript, no more than it is in the Kings Manuscript. And with this I will finish my account of *Zurich*. The publick Library is very noble; the Hall in which it is placed, is large and well contrived; there is a very handsome Cabinet of Medals, and so I will break off; but when I have gone so much farther that I have gathered Materials for another Letter of this Volume, you may look for a second entertainment such as it is from

Your, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

I told you, that in *Bern* the Baliages are given by a sort of Ballot, which is so managed that no Mans Vote is known; but I must now add, that since I was first there, they have made a considerable regulation in the way of voting, when Offices are to be given, which approaches much nearer the *Venetian* method, and which exposes the Competitours more to chance, and by consequence may put an end to the intrigues, that are so much in use for obtaining those employments. There is a number of Balls put into a Box, equal to the number of those that have right to vote, and that are present; of these the third part is gilt, and two parts are only silvered, so every one takes out a Ball; but none

none can vote except those who have the gilt balls, so that hereafter a man may have more then two thirds sure, and yet be cast in a competition.

There is one thing for which the *Switzers*, in particular those of *Bern*, cannot be enough commended, they have ever since the persecution began first in *France*, opened a Sanctuary to such as have retired thither, in so generous and so Christian a manner, that it deserves all the honourable remembrances that can be made of it : such Ministers and others that were at first condemned in *France*, for the affair of the *Cevennes*, have not only found a kind reception here, but all the support that could be expected, and indeed much more then could have been in reason expected. For they have assigned the *French* Ministers a Pension of five Crowns a Month, if they were unmarried, have increased it to such as had Wife and Children, so that some had above ten Crowns a month Pension. They dispersed them over all the *Pais de V.* : but the greatest number staid at *Lausanne* and *Vevey*. In order to the supporting of this charge, the charities of *Zurich* and the other Neighbouring *Protestant* States, were brought hither. Not only the *Protestant* Cantons, but the *Grisons*, and some small States that are under the protection of the Cantons, such as *Neuf-châstel*, *S. Gall*, and some others have sent in their Charities to *Bern*, who dispence them with great discretion, and bear what further charge this relief brings upon them, and in this last total and deplorable dis-

perſon of thoſe Churches, the whole Countrey has been animated with ſuch a Spirit of Charity and Compaſſion, that every Mans houſe and purſe has been opened to the Refugees that have paſſed thither in ſuch numbers, that ſometimes there have been above 2000 in *Lausanne* alone, and of theſe there were at one time near 200 Miniſters, and they all met with a kindneſs and free heartedneſs, that lookt more like ſomewhat of the primitive age revived, than the degeneracy of the age in which we live.

I ſhall Conclude this Poſtſcript, which is already ſwelled to the bigneſs of a Letter, with a ſad Inſtance of the Anger and Heat that riſes among Divines concerning matters of ſmall conſequence.

The middle way that *Amirald*, *Daille*, and ſome others in *France* took in the matters that were diſputed in *Holland*, concerning the Divine Decrees and the extent of the Death of Chriſt, as it came to be generally followed in *France*, ſo it had ſome Aſſertors both in *Geneva* and *Switzerland*, who denied the imputation of *Adam's* Sin, and aſſerted the Univerſality of Chriſt's Death, together with a ſufficient Grace given to all Men, aſſerting with this a particular and free Decree of Election, with an efficacious Grace for thoſe included in it: theſe came to be called Univerſaliſts, and began to grow very conſiderable in *Geneva*: two of the Profeſſors of Divinity there being known to favour thoſe Opinions. Upon this thoſe who adhered ſtrictly to the oppoſite Doctrine, were inflamed, and the Contention grew to that

that height, that almost the whole Town came to be concerned, and all were divided into Parties. If upon this the Magistrates had enjoyned silence to both Parties, they had certainly acted wisely; for these are Speculations so little certain, and so little essential to Religion, that a diversity of Opinions ought not to be made the occasion of heat or faction. But tho' the party of the Universalists was considerable in *Geneva*, it was very small in *Switzerland*, therefore some Divines there, that adhered to the old received Doctrine, drew up some Articles in which all these Doctrines were not only condemned, together with some Speculations that were asserted concerning *Adam's* Immortality, and other Qualities belonging to the state of Innocency; but because *Capel* and some other Criticks had not only asserted the novelty of the Points, but had taken the liberty to correct the reading of the Hebrew, supposing that some errors had been committed by the Copiers of the Bible, both in the Vowels and Consonants, in opposition to this, they condemned all corrections of the Hebrew Bible, and asserted the Antiquity of the Points, or at least of the Power and Reading according to them, by which, tho' they did not engage all to be of *Buxtorf's* Opinion, as to the Antiquity of the Points, yet they shut the Door against all Corrections of the present punctuation. If this consent of Doctrine, for so they termed it, had been made only the Standard against which no Man might have taught, without

incurring censures, the severity had been more tolerable: but they obliged all such as should be admitted either to the Ministry, or to a Professors Chair, to sign *sic sentio*, so I think, and this being so settled at *Bern* and *Zurich* it was also carried by their Authority at *Geneva*: but for those in office, the Moderator and Clerk signed it in all their names: and thus they were not contented to make only a Regulation in those matters, but they would needs, according to a maxim that has been so often fatal to the Church, enter into peoples consciences, and either shut out young men from employments, or impose a Test upon them, which perhaps some have signed not without strugglings in their Conscience. Yet some that set on this Test or consent are men of such extraordinary worth, that I am confident they have acted in this matter out of a sincere zeal, for that which they believe to be the truth, only I wish they had larger, and freer souls.

The only considerable Tax under which the *Switzers* lie, is, that when Estates are sold the fifth part of the price belongs to the Publick, and all the abatement that the Bailif can make, is to bring it to a 6th. part, this they call the *Lod*, which is derived from *alodium*: only there are some Lands that are *Frank-alod*, which lie not under this Tax: but this falling only on the sellers of Estates, it was thought a just punishment, and a wise restraint on ill husbands of their Estates.

I was the more confirmed in the account I have

given you of the derivation of Advoyer, when I found that in some small towns in the Canton of *Bern* the chief Magistrate is still so called ; as in *Payerne*, so that I make no doubt but as the Antient Magistrates in the time of the *Romans*, that were to give an account of the Town, were called Advocates, and afterwards the Judge in Civil Matters, that was named by the Bishops, was called at first Advocate, and afterwards *Vidam* or *Vicedominus* : so this was the title that was still continued in *Bern*, while they were under the *Austrian* and *German* Yoke, and was preserved by them when they threw it off.

I have perhaps toucht too slightly the last difference that was in *Switzerland* which related to the Canton of *Glaris*. In the Canton of *Apenzel*, as the two Religions are tolerated, so they are separated in different quarters, those of one Religion have the one half of the Canton, and those of the other Religion have the other half, so they live each part : but in *Glaris* they are mixt : and now the number of the Papists is become very low ; one assured me there were not above 200 families of that Religion, and those are also so poor that their necessities dispose some of them every day to change their Religion. The other Popish Cantons seeing the danger of losing their interest entirely in that Canton, and being set on by the intrigues of a Court, that has understood well the policy of imbroiling all other States, made great use of some complaints that were brought by the Papists of *Glaris*, as if the prevail-

vailing of the other Religion exposed them to much injustice and oppression ; and upon that they proposed that the Canton should be equally divided into two halves, as *Appenzel* was : this was extremely unjust, since the Papists were not the tenth, or perhaps the 20. part of the Canton. It is true it was so situated in the midst of the *Popish* Cantons that the *Protestant* Cantons could not easily come to their assistance : but those of *Glaris* resolved to die rather than suffer this injustice, and the *Protestant* Cantons resolved to engage in a War with the *Popish* Cantons if they imposed this matter on their brethren of *Glaris* : at last this temper was found, that in all sutes of Law between those of different Religions, two thirds of the Judges should be alwaies of the Religion of the Defendant, but while this contest was on foot, those, who as is believed fomented it, if they did not set it on, knew how to make their advantage of the conjuncture for then was the fortification of *Huningberg* at the Ports of *Basle* much advanced, of the importance of which they are now very apprehensive when it is too late. There are still Noble Families in *Bern* that have still this privilege, that when any of them is chosen to be of the Council they take place before all the Ancient Counsellors, whereas all the rest take place according to the Order in which they were chosen to be of the Council.

THE SECOND LETTER.

Millan, the first of October, 1685.

AFTER a short stay at *Zurich* we went down the Lake, where we pass under the Bridge at *Ripperwood*, which is a very noble work for such a Country; the Lake is there about half a mile broad, the bridge is about twelve foot broad, but hath no Rails on either side, so that if the wind blows hard, which is no extraordinary thing there, a man is in great danger of being blown into the Lakes: and this same defect I found in almost all the Bridges of *Lombardy*, which seemed very strange; for since that defence is made upon so small an expence, it was amazing to see Bridges so naked: and that was more surprizing in some places where the Bridges are both high and long: yet I never heard of any mischief that followed on this, but those are sober Countries, where drinking is not much in use. After two daies journey we came to *Coire* which is the chief Town of the *Grisons*, and where we found a general Diet of the three Leagues sitting, so that having staid ten days there, I came to
be

be informed of a great many particulars concerning those Leagues, which are not commonly known: The Town is but little, and may contain between four and five thousand Souls; it lies in a bottom upon a small Brook, that a little below the Town falls into the *Rhine*. It is environned with Mountains of all hands, so that they have a very short Summer, for the Snow is not melted till *May* or *June*; and it began to Snow in *September* when I was there: On a rising ground at the East-end of the Town is the Cathedral, the Bishops Palace, and the Close, where the Dean and six Prebendaries live; all within the Close are Papists, but all the Town are Protestants, and they live pretty neighbourly together. Above a quarter of a mile high in the Hill one goes up by a steep ascent to Saint *Lucius* Chappel; my Curiosity carried me thither: Tho I gave no Faith to the legend of King *Lucius*, and of his coming so far from home to be the Apostle of the *Grifons*. His Chappel is a little Vault about ten foot square, where there is an Altar, and where Mass is said upon some great Festivities; it is situated under a natural Arch that is in the Rock, which was thought proper to be given out to have been the Cell of a Hermit, from it some drops of a small Fountain fall down near the Chappel; the Bishop assured me it had a miraculous Vertue for weak-eyes, and that it was Oily: but neither taste nor feeling could discover to me any Oylinefs: I believe it may be very good for the Eyes, as all Rock water

Water is; but when I offered to shew the good old Bishop that the Legend of *Lucius* was a Fable in all the parts of it; but most remarkably in that which related to the *Grisons*; and that we had no Kings in *Brittain* at that time, but were a Province to the *Romans*, that no ancient Authors speak of it, *Bede* being the first that mentions it; and that the pretended Letter to Pope *Eleutherius*, together with his answer, has evident characters of forgery in it, all this signified nothing to the Bishop, who assured me that they had a Tradition of that in their Church, and it was inserted in their Breviary which he firmly believed: he also told me the other Legend of King *Lucius's* sister *S. Emerita*, who was burnt there, and of whose veil there was yet a considerable remnant reserved among their Reliques: I confess I never saw a Relique so ill disguised, for it is a piece of worninnen cloath lately washt, and the burning did not seem to be a month old; and yet when they took it out of the Case to shew it me, there were some there that with great devotion rub'd their Beads upon it. The Bishop had some contests with his Dean, and being a Prince of the Empire he had proscribed him: the Dean had also behaved himself so insolently, that by an order of the Diet, to which even the Bishop, as was believed, consented, he was put in Prison as he came out of the Cathedral. By the common consent both of the Popish and Protestant Communities, a Law was long ago made
against

against Ecclesiastical Immunities: this attempt on the Dean was made four year ago; as soon as he was let out he went to *Rome*, and made great complaints of the Bishop, and it was thought the Popish party intended to move in the Diet while we were there for the repealing of that Law, but they did it not. The foundation of the quarrel between the Bishop and Dean was the Exemptions to which the Dean and Chapter pretended, and upon which the Bishop made some invasion. Upon which I took occasion to shew him the novelty of those Exemptions, and that in the primitive Church it was believed that the Bishop had the authority over his Presbyters by a divine right; and if it was by divine right, then the Pope could not exempt them from his obedience: but the Bishop would not carry the matter so high, and contented himself with two maxims; the one was, That the Bishop was Christs Vicar in his Diocess; and the other was, That what the Pope was in the Catholick Church, the Bishop was the same in his Diocess.

He was a good natured man, and did not make use of the great authority that he has over the Papists there, to set them on to live uneasily with their neighbours of another Religion. That Bishop was antiently a great Prince, and the greatest part of the League that carries still the name of the House of Guise belonged to him, tho I was assured that *Pregallia* one of those Communities was a free State above six hundred years ago, and

that they have Records yet extant that prove this : The other Communities of this League bought their liberties from several Bishops some considerable time before the Reformation, of which the Deeds are yet extant, so that it is an impudent thing to say, as some have done, that they shook off his yoke at that time.

The Bishop hath yet reserved a Revenue of about one thousand pound sterling a year, and every one of the Prebendaries hath near two hundred pound a year. It is not easie to imagine out of what the riches of this Countrey is raised, for one sees nothing but a tract of vast Mountains that seem barren Rocks, and some little Vallies among them not a mile broad, and the best part of these is washed away by the *Rhine*, and some Brooks that fall into it: but their wealth consists chiefly in their Hills, which afford much pasture, and in the hot months, in which all the Pasture of *Italy* is generally parched, the Cattle are driven into these Hills, which brings them in a Revenue of above two hundred thousand Crowns a year. The Publick is indeed very poor, but particular persons are so rich, that I knew a great many there, who were believed to have Estates to the value of one hundred thousand Crowns. Mr. *Schovestein*, that is accounted the richest Man in the Country, is believed to be worth a million, I mean of Livres. The Government there is purely a Commonwealth, for in the choice of their Magistrates every man that is

above

above sixteen years old hath his voice, which is also the constitution of some of the small Cantons. The three leagues are, the league of the *Grisons*, that of the House of God, and that of the ten Jurisdictions.

They believe that upon the incursions of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, as some fled to the *Venetian* Islands, out of which arose that famous Common wealth; so others came and sheltered themselves in those Valleys. They told me of an ancient inscription lately found, of a Stone where on the one side is graven, *O-mitto Rhetos Indomitos*, and *ne plus ultra* is on the other; which they pretend was made by *Julius Caesar*; the Stone on which this inscription is, is upon one of their Mountains, but I did not pass that way, so I can make no judgment concerning it. After the first forming of this people, they were cast into little States, according to the different Valleys which they inhabited, and in which Justice was administered, and so they fell under the power of some little Princes that became severe Masters; but when they saw the example that the *Switzers* had set them, in shaking off the *Austrian* yoke, above two hundred years ago, they likewise combined to shake off theirs; only some few of those small Princes used their authority better, and concurred with the people in shaking off the yoke, and so they are still parts of the body; only *Haldenstein* is an absolute Sovereignty, it is about two miles from *Coire* to the West, on the other side of the *Rhine*; the whole Territory is about half a mile long at the
foot

foot of the *Alps*, where there is scarce any breadth. The authority of these Barons was formerly more absolute than it is now, for the subjects were their Slaves: but to keep together the little Village; they have granted them a power of naming a list for their Magistrates, the person being to be named by the Baron; who hath also the right of pardoning, a right of coining, and every thing also that belongs to a Sovereign. I saw this little Prince in *Coire*, in an equipage not suitable to his quality, for he was in all points like a very ordinary Gentleman. There are three other Baronies that are members of the Diet, and subject to it; the chief belonged to the Arch-Dukes of *Inchpruck*; the other two belong to Mr. *Schovenstein* and Mr. *de Mont*, they are the Heads of those communities of which their Baronies are composed; they name the Magistrates out of the lists that are presented to them by their Subjects; and they have the right of pardoning and of confiscations: that belonging to the house of *Austria* is the biggest, it hath five voices in the Diet, and it can raise twelve hundred Men. One *Travers* bought it of the Emperor in the year 1679. He entred upon the rights of the ancient Barons, which were specified in an agreement that past between him and his Peasants, and was confirmed by the Emperour. *Travers* made many incroachments upon the Privileges of his Subjects, who upon that made their complaints to the League; but *Travers* would have the matter judged at *Inchpruck*, and the Emperor supported him in this pretension,

sion, and sent an agent to the Diet: I was present when he had his audience, in which there was nothing but general complements: But the Diet stood firm to their constitution, and asserted that the Emperor had no authority to judge in that matter which belonged only to them, so *Travers* was forced to let his pretensions fall.

All the other parts of this State are purely Democratical, there are three different bodies or leagues, and every one of these are an intire Government, and the Assembly or Diet of the three Leagues, is only a confederacy like the united Provinces or the Cantons: There are sixty-seven voices in the general Diet, which are thus divided: the League of the *Grisons* hath twenty-eight voices, that of the House of God hath twenty-four, and that of the Jurisdictions hath fifteen. The Jurisdictions belonged antiently to the House of *Austria*, but they having shaken off that authority were incorporated into the Diet, about in the last Wars of *Germany*, the *Austrians* thought to have brought them again under their yoke, yet they defended their liberties with so much vigour that the *Austrians* it seemed thought the conquest not worth the while and that it would not quit the cost. They were affrighted by two extraordinary actions in one Village which was quite abandoned it is all the Men belonging to it, who left the Women in it, some hundreds as I was told were quartered, and were apprehensive of no danger from their Hostesses; but the Women inter-

ed to let their Husbands see that they were capable of contriving and executing a bold Action; tho it must be confest it was a little too rough and barbarous for the Sex: They entered into a combination to cut the throats of all the Souldiers at one time: the Woman that proposed this had four lodged with her, and she with her own hands dispatht them all, and so did all the rest, not one Souldier escaping to carry away the news of so unheard of a rage. In another place a body of *Austrians* came into a Valley that was quite abandoned, for the Men that had no Arms but their Clubs and Staves, had got up to the Mountains; but they took their measures so well, and possessed themselves so of the Passes, that they came down upon the Souldiers with so much fury that they defeated them quite, so that very few escaped, and it is certain, that the subduing them would have proved a very hard work: It is true, they are not in a condition to hold out long, the Publick is so poor; so that tho particular persons are extream rich, yet they have no publick Revenue, but every Man is concerned to preserve his liberty, which is more intire here than it is even in *Switzerland*, without this swells often too much, and throws them into great Convulsions. The League of the *Grisons* is the first and most ancient, and it is composed of eight and twenty Communities, of which there are eighteen Papists, and the rest are Protestants; the Communities of the two Religions live neighborly together, yet they do not suffer those of another Religion

gion to live among them, so that every community is entirely of the same Religion, and if any one changes he must go into another community. Each community is an intire State within it self, and all persons must meet once a year to chuse the Judge and his assistants whom they change or continue from year to year as they see cause: There is no difference made between Gentleman and Peasant, and the Tenant hath a vote as well as his Landlord nor dare his Landlord use him ill when he votes contrary to his intentions, for the Peasants would look upon that as a common quarrel. An appeal lies from the Judge of the community to the Assembly of the League, where all matters end; for there lies no appeal to the general Diet of the three Leagues, except in matters that concern the conquered Countries which belong in common to all the three. There is one chosen by the Deputies for the Assembly of the League, who is called the head of the League, that can call them together as he sees cause, and can likewise bring a cause that hath been once judged to a second hearing. *Ilants* is the chief Town of this League where their Diet meets. The second League is that of the House of God, in which there are four and twenty Communities, the Burgomaster of *Coire* is always the head of this League: This League is almost wholly Protestant, and the two Valleys of the upper and lower *Engadina* are pointed out by the Papists, as little less than *Cannibals* towards such Catholics as come among them; but Friar *Sfondrato*, No

phew to Pope *Gregorie* the fourteenth, whose Mother the Marquess of *Bergominiero*, that was in *England*, hath married, found the contrary of all this to be true to his great regret. About eighteen year ago he was beleaved to have wrought miracles, and he became so much in love with the Crown of Martyrdom that he went through the *Engedin*, not doubting but he would find there that which he desired. His Brother had come sometime before into the Countrey to drink mineral Waters, and was well known to the *Gentrey*, so some of these hearing of the Friars coming went and waited on him; and he was entertained by them in their Houses and conveyed through the Country; tho he took all possible wayes to provoke them, for he was often railing at their Religion, but to all that they made no answer, only they continued their civilities still, which did so *inrage* the warm Friar that he went to *Bormio*, and (there as was beleaved) he died of grief. An accident fell out five year ago, that the people of the Countrey esteemed a sort of a miracle. The *Papists* in their Processions go sometimes out of one Community into another, and when they pass through *Protestant* Communities they lower the Cross, and give over singing till they are again upon *Popish* ground; but then they went on bearing up the Cross, and singing as they went, upon which the *Protestants* stopt them, and would not suffer them to go on in that manner: they finding that they were not equal in number to the *Protestants*, sent to a *Catholick*

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community, and desired them to come to their assistance : Two thousand came, and by all appearance the dispute would have had a bloody issue : for the *Protestants* were resolved to maintain the rights of their community, and the others were no less resolved to force their way : but an extraordinary thick mist arose, and through it the *Papists* fancied they saw a vast body of men, which was no other then a Wood : but terrified with the appearance of such a number they retired, and this saved a little battel that probably would not only have ended in the shedding much blood, but might have very much disordered the whole constitution and union of their Leagues. The *Papists* of quality endeavour much to keep their people in order, but they acknowledged to my self, that the *Protestants* were much peaceabler than the *Catholicks*. The Jurisdctions have fifteen votes in the general Diet, yet they are generally called the ten Jurisdctions, and the greater part of them are likewise of the Religion, for upon the general computation of the three Leagues, the *Protestants* are about two thirds. In their Diets there are three Tables, one in the middle and two on either side, at every Table sits the head of the League and Secretary near him, and from the Table there goes down benches on both hands for the Deputies from the communities of that League: They hold their Diets by turns in the chief Towns of the several Leagues, and it hapned to be the turn of the House of God when I was there, so they met at Coire.

The

The three Leagues have a conquered Country in *Italy* divided into three districts, the *Valtelline*, *Chavennes* and *Bormio*. When *John Galeasse* possessed himself of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and drive out *Barnabas*, *Mastinus* one of *Barnabas's* Sons, to whom his Father had given those three branches of the Dutchy of *Milan*, retired to *Coire*, and being hospitably received and entertained by the Bishop, when he died he gave his right to those Territories to the Cathedral of *Coire*: but here was a title without a force able to make it good. But when the Wars of *Italy* were on foot, the three Leagues being much courted by both the Crowns, since they were Masters of the Passes, by which either the *Switzers* or *Germans* could come into *Italy*, they resolved to lay hold on that opportunity: yet they had not zeal enough for their Bishop to ingage deep upon his account, so they agreed with him to pay him such a revenue, and he transferred his title to them, and they were so considerable to the *Spaniards*, that without much ado, they yielded those parcels of the Dutchy of *Milan* to them, and by this means they are possessed of them. Those accessions to this State are much better then the principal, for as certainly the *Valtelline*, which is above forty miles long and two broad, is one of the richest Valleys in the World, in which there are three Harvests some years, so the *Chavennes* and *Bormio* are much preferable to the best Valleys of the *Grisons*; yet the ingagement that people have to their native homes appears signally

here, since the *Grisons* have not forsaken their Countrey that they might scituate themselves so advantageously : but they love their rugged *Valleys*, and think they safety they injoy in them beyond the pleasures of their acquired Dominions, so they govern them by Bailifs and *Podesta's*, and other Officers whom they send among them : and all the advantages that they draw from them, is that the Magistrates whom they do send to govern them, do enrich themselves as the Bailifs in *Switzerland* do. All those Offices go round the several Communities who have the right of nomination in their turn : But if there is none of the community proper for the Employment, any one of another Community may buy of them the nomination for that turn, and the Community distribute among them the money that he gives them. The publick draws nothing out of those parts, except the fines, which in some years amounts to no considerable sum, and ten or twelve thousand *Crowns* is thought a great deal to be raised out of them in a year, so that their Subjects live happy and free of all taxes, which made their last revolt appear the more extraordinary, and it was indeed the effect of a very surprising Bigotry, when a people under the gentlest yoke in the World, who had no other grievance, but that now and then their Magistrates were of another Religion, and that the *Protestant* Religion was tolerated amongst them, would therefore throw off their Masters, cut the throats of their Neighbours, and cast themselves into the hands of the

Spaniards,

Spaniards, who are the terriblest Masters in the World.

But to give a more particular relation of that matter, and to tell the circumstances which seem a little to lessen that rebellion and massacre, I must give an account of a part of this Constitution that is very terrible, and which makes the greatest men in it to tremble: The Peasants come sometimes in great bodies and demand a Chamber of Justice from the general Diet, and they are bound to grant it alwaies when it is thus demanded, which comes about generally once in twenty years; commonly this tumult of the Peasants is set on by some of the male-contented Gentry, and generally there are a great many sacrifices made. This Court is composed of ten Judges out of every League, and twenty Advocates, who manage such accusations as are presented to them, this Court is paramount to Law, and acts like a Court of Inquisition, they give the question and do every thing that they think necessary to discover the truth of such accusations as are presented to them, and the decisions of this Court can never be brought under a second review, tho there is an exception to this, for about a hundred years ago one Court of Justice reversed all that another had done, but that is a single instance. The Peasants are in as great a jealousy of the *Spaniards*, as the *Switzers* are of the *French*, and the good Men among them are extream sensible of a great dissolution of morals that the *Spanish* service brings among them: For

there is a *Grison* Regiment kept still in pay by the *Spaniards*, there are in it twelve Companies of fifty a piece, and the Captains have a thousand Crowns pay, tho they are not obliged to attend upon the service : This is upon the matter a pension paid under a more decent name to the most considerable Men of the Countrey, and this is shared among them without any distinction of *Protestant* and *Papist*, and is believed to sway their Councils much. The Peasants are apt to take fire, and to believe they are betrayed by those Pensioners of *Spain*, and when rumors are blown about among them, they came in great numbers to demand a Chamber of Justice; the common question that they give, which is also used all *Switzerland* over, and in *Geneva*, is that they tie the Hands of the suspected person behind his back, and pull them up to his Head, and so draw them about, by which the arms and chiefly the Shoulder-blades are dis-jointed, and when a person put to the question confesses his crime, and is upon that condemned to die, he is obliged to renew his confession upon oath at the place of execution, and if he goes off from it then, and saith that his confession was extorted by the violence of the torture, he is put again to the question : for this passes for a maxime that no man must die unless he confesseth himself guilty : Generally when the fury of demanding this Chamber is spread among the people, the *Gentrey* run away and leave the whole matter in the power of the Peasants, for they know not where it
will

will end, and so the Peasants being named to be Judges, the Justices go quick till some sacrifices appease the rage. Two year ago, upon the sale of a Common to the Bishop of *Como*, to which he had an ancient pretension, the Peasants having no more the liberty of the Common, were intrigued at their Magistrates, and a report was spread abroad, of which the first Author could never be discovered; that the *Spaniards* had sent a hundred thousand Crowns among them to corrupt all their Magistrates, upon this they were so set on fire, that it was generally thought there would have been many sacrifices made to this fury: but the Gentry hapned to be then so much united, that there was none of them engaged among the Peasants, or that managed their rage: a Chamber of Justice was granted, but the matter was so ordered that it did not appear that any one was guilty, yet some that had dealt in that transaction were fined, not so much for any fault of theirs, as to raise a fond to pay the expences of the Chamber, and because they could not find colour enough to raise so much out of the fines, there was a fine of five hundred Livers laid on every one of the *Spanish* Companies. I hope this digression will not appear tedious to you, and the rather because you will soon see that it was a little necessary to open the matter of the Rebellion and Massacre in the *Valteline*.

In the year 1618. there was a report set about, that the *Spaniards* had a treatie on foot to tear away the *Valteline* from the Leagues,

this was supported by the Fort *Fuentes*, that the Governour of *Milan* was building upon the Lake of *Como*, near the *Valteline*. There was one *Ganatz* a Minister, but a bloody and perfidious Man, that set on, and managed the rage of the Peasants, and there was reason to suspect some underhand dealing, tho he threw it which way he pleased. A Chamber of Justice was appointed to sit at *Tassane*, which is a considerable Town twelve miles from *Coire*, on the way to *Italy*, near *Alta Rhetia*, which is a high and small Hill, to which there is no access but on one side, where there are yet the ruins of a Castle and a Church, and which they believe was the Pallace of *Rhetus* the first Prince of the Countrey: There was severe justice done in this Chamber, a Priest was put to the question, and so ill used that he died in it, which is a crying thing among them. The chief suspicion lay upon one *Pianta*, who being of one of the best Families of the *Grisons*, was then one of the Captains in the *Spanish* Regiment; he withdrew himself from the storm, but the Peasants led on by *Ganatz* pursued him so, that at last they found him and hewed him in pieces. *Ganatz* himself striking the first stroke with an Ax, which was taken up and preserved by his Friends, and four and twenty years after fifty or sixty of his Friends fell upon *Ganatz* in *Coire*, and killed him with the same Ax, which they brought along with them, that they might execute their design by the same tool with which their Friend was murdered. *Ganatz* had, during the Wars

abandoned

abandoned both his Religion and Profession, being indeed a disgrace to both, and had served first in the *Venetian*, and then in the *Spanish* Troops. After the peace was made he became so considerable, being supported by the *Spanish* Faction, that he was chosen Governour of *Chavennes*, and was come over to *Coire* to a Diet, he being then in so important a charge: but he was so much hated, that tho the murdering of a Magistrate in Office, and at a publick Assembly in so terrible a manner ought to have been severely punished, yet no inquiry was made into the crime, nor was any Man so much as questioned for it. In that Chamber many that were put to the question, confessed enough to hang them, some indured the question and escaped with the loss of the use of their Arms. Those of the *Valteline* have made use of this severity, as that which gave the rise to the Massacre, and it is very probable this might have drawn in some, that would have been otherwise more moderate; and that it did likewise precipitate that barbarous action: yet it was afterwards found out that the Plot had been formed long before, so that the industry and rage of the Priests managed by *Spanish* Emillaries, working upon the bigotry of the people was the real cause, and this was only made use of as a pretext to give some more plausible colours to the Massacre, which was executed some months after this Chamber was dissolved. It began while the Protestants were at Church, there were some hundreds destroyed, the rest

got all up to the Mountains, and so escaped into the Countrey of the *Grisons*, and those of *Chavennes* got likewise up to the Hills, for they are scituated just at the bottom of them.

I shall not prosecute the rest of that War, the *French* saw of what advantage it was to them not to let this pass from *Italy* into *Germany* fall into the hands of the *Spaniards*; so *Bassompierre* was sent to *Madrid*, and obtained a promise, that all things should be put in the same state in which they were before the year 1618, but when that Order was sent to the Governour of *Milan*, it was plain he had secret Orders to the contrary, for he refused to execute it; so a War followed, in which the *Grisons* found it was not easie for them to support the charge of it, without employing the assistance of the *French*. But the *Spaniards* pretended to have no other interest in the Affairs of the *Valtelline* than the preservation of the Catholick Religion, and to shew their sincerity, they put the Countrey into the Popes hands, knowing that he could not preserve it but by their assistance, nor restore it without securing it from all change of Religion. The *French* willingly undertook the Cause of the *Grisons*, and because the Duke of *Rohan* was like to be the most favourable General, as being of the Religion, in he was sent to command some Forces that marched thither: But he saw that if the *French* once made themselves Masters of the Passes of the Countrey, it would turn to their ruine, and

and finding the *Grifons* reposed an intire confidence in him, he thought it unbecoming him to be an instrument in that which he saw must be fatal to them. The *Spaniards* seeing the *French* ingage in the quarrel, and fearing lest they should possess themselves of the passès, offered to restore all the Territory in *Italy*, for *Chavennes* and *Bormio* had likewise revolted, only the *Protestants* got away so quick upon the disorders in the *Valtelline*, that they prevented the rage of the Priests. The *Spaniards* ask'd these Conditions, that an *Amnesty* should be granted for what was past, that there should be no exercise of the *Protestant* Religion tolerated in the Country, and that even the Bailifs and other Magistrates of the Religion, that came to be sent into their *Valtelline*, should have no exercise of the Religion, and as for other persons, that none of the Religion might stay above six weeks at a time in the Countrey. The Duke of *Rohan* seeing that Conditions of so much advantage to the Leagues were offered to them, did unperhand advise those of the Religion to accept of them, at the same time that he seemed openly to oppose the treaty set on foot on those terms, and that he might get out of this imploiment with the less dishonour, he advised their clapping him up in Prison till they had finished their treaty with the *Spaniards*. So that they very gratefully to this day own that they owe the preservation of their Countrey to the wise advices of that great Man. Many that were of the

the Religion return to their Houses and Estates, but the greatest part fearing such another Massacre, having since changed their Religion, others have sold their Estates, and left the Countrey, some stay still and go two or three hours journey to some of the Protestant Communities, where they have the exercise of the Religion: And tho they may not stay in the *Valteline* above six weeks at a time, yet they avoid that by going for a day or two out of the Countrey once within that time, nor is that matter at present so severely examined, so that there is a calm among them as to those matters. But when it comes to the turn of the *Protestant* Communities to send one of the Religion to those employments, he is often much embarrassed by the Bishop of *Como*, to whose Diocess those Territories belong, for if the Bishop fancies that they do any thing contrary to the Ecclesiastical immunities, he excommunicates them, and tho this may appear a ridiculous thing, since they are already in a worse state for being Hereticks, yet it produces a very sensible effect, for the people that are extreemly superstitious, will not after that come near such Magistrates, so that about three year ago a Bailif found himself obliged to desire to be recalled, tho his time was not out, since being excommunicated he could no longer maintain the Government in his own Person.

Among the *Grisons* the *Roman* Law prevails, modified a little by their Customs: one that was a little particular was executed when

when I was there. A Man that hath an Estate by his Wife enjoys it after her death as long as he continues a Widdower, but when he marries again he is bound to divide it among the Children that he had by her. The Justice is short and simple, but it is oft thought that bribes go here, tho but meanly in proportion to their poverty, as well as in other places. The Married Women here do scarce appear abroad except at Church, but the young Women have more liberty before they are married. There is such a plenty of all things by reason of the gentleness of the Government and the industry of the people, that in all the ten dayes in which I staid at *Coire*, I was but once askt an Alms in the Streets. There are two Churches in *Coire*, in the one there is an Organ that joyns with their voices in the singing of the Psalms, and there was for the honour of the Diet, while we were there an Anthem sung by a set of Musicians very regularly. In all the Churches both of *Switzerland* and the *Grisons*, except in this only, the Minister preaches covered, but here he is bare-headed. And I observed a particular devotion used here in saying of the Lords Prayer, that the Ministers who wears Caps, put them off when this was said. The Women here as in *Bern* turn all to the *East* in time of Prayer, and also in their private devotions before and after the Publick Prayers: many also bow at the Name of *Jesus*: They Christen discovering the whole head, and pouring the Water on the hind-head, using a true

trine asperſion, which is alſo the practice of the *Switzers*. It was matter of much edification to ſee the great numbers both here, and all *Switzerland* over, that come every day to prayers morning and evening. They give here in the middle of the Prayer a good interval of ſilence for the private devotions of the Aſſembly. The Schools here go not above *Latin, Greek* and *Logick*, and for the reſt they ſend their Children to *Zurich* or *Baſil*. The Clergy here are very meanly provided for moſt part they have nothing but the benevolence of their people: they complained much to me of a great coldneſs in their people in the matters of Religion, and of a great corruption in their Morals: The Commons are extream insolent, and many Crimes go unpuniſhed, if the perſons that commit them have either great credit or much money. The poor Miniſters here are under a terrible ſlavery; for the *Griſons* pretend that in all times they had not only the Patronage of their Churches, but a power to diſmiſs their Church-men as they ſaw cauſe. How it is among the Papiſts I cannot tell, but the Dean of the Synod of the Houſe of God told me they had an ill cuſtome of ordaining their Miniſters without a Title, upon an examination of their qualifications and abilities, which took them up generally ſix or ſeven hours, and when this trial was thus diſpatched, if the perſon was found qualified they ordained him, and it was too ordinary for thoſe that were thus ordained to endeavour to undermine the Miniſters

nisters already in imploiment, if their people grew disgusted at them, or as they became disabled by age, and often the interest and kindred of the Intruder, carried the matter against the Incumbent without any colour or pretence, and in that case the *Synode* was bound to receive the Intruder. In one half of the Countrey they preach in high *Dutch*, and in the other half in a corrupt *Italian*, which they call *Romanish*, that is a mixture of *French* and *Italian*. In every League they have a Synod, and as the people chuse their Ministers, so in imitation of the *Switzers* every Synod chuses their *Antistes* or Superintendent, he is called the Dean among the *Grisons*, and hath a sort of an Episcopal Power, but he is accountable to the Synod: The Office is for Life, but the Synod upon great cause given may make a change. The People of this Countrey are much more lively then the *Switzers*, and they begin to have some tincture of the *Italian* Temper. They are extremely civil to Strangers, but it seems in all Common-wealths Inn-keepers think they have a right to exact upon Strangers, which one finds here as well as in *Holland* or in *Switzerland*.

I shall conclude what I have to say concerning the *Grisons* with a very extraordinary story, which I had both from the Ministers of *Coire* and several other Gentlemen, that saw in *April* 1685. about five hundred persons of different sexes and ages that past through the Town, who gave this account of them

themselves. They were the Inhabitants of
 Valley in *Tirol*, belonging for the greater
 part to the Arch-bishoprick of *Salzburg*,
 but some of them were in the Diocesses of
Trent and *Bresse*, they seemed to be a remnant
 of the old *Waldenses*, they worshipped nei-
 ther Images nor Saints, and they believed
 the Sacrament was only a Commemoration
 of the death of Christ, and in many other points
 they had their peculiar opinions different from
 those of the Church of *Rome*, they knew
 nothing neither of *Lutherans* nor *Calvinists*
 and the *Grisons*, tho their Neighbours, had
 never heard of this nearness of theirs to the
Protestant Religion. They had Mass said
 among them, but some years since some of
 the Valley going over *Germany* to earn some
 what by their Labour, happened to go into the
Palatinate, where they were better instruct-
 ed in matters of Religion, and these brought
 back with them into the Vally the *Heidel-
 berg* Catechisme, together with some other
German Books, which run over the Vally
 and they being before that in a good disposi-
 tion, those Books had such an effect upon
 them, that they gave over going to Mass any
 more, and began to worship God in a way
 more suitable to the rules set down in Scrip-
 ture, some of their Priests concurred with
 them in this happy change, but others that
 adhered still to the Mass, went and gave the
 Archbishop of *Salzburg* an account of it
 upon which he sent some into the Countrey
 to examine the Truth of the matter, to ex-

hort them to return to Mass, and to threaten them with all severity, if they continued obstinate: so they seeing a terrible storm ready to break upon them, resolved to abandon their Houses and all they had, rather then sin against their Consciences: and the whole Inhabitants of the Valley, old and young, Men and Women, to the number of two thousand, divided themselves into several bodies; some intended to go to *Brandenburgh*, others to the *Palatinate*, and about five hundred took the way of *Coire*, intending to disperse themselves in *Switzerland*. The Ministers told me they were much edified with their simplicity, and modesty, for a Collection being made for them, they desired only a little bread to carry them on their way. From *Coire* we went to *Tossane*, and from that through the way that is justly called *Via Mala*. It is through a bottom between two Rocks, through which the Rhine runs, but under ground for a great part of the way: The way is cut out in the middle of the Rock in some places, and in several places, the steepness of the Rock being such, that a way could not be cut out, there are beams driven into it, over which boards and earth are laid, this way witholds an hour: And after that there is for two hours good way, and we past through two considerable Villages, there is good lodging in both; from thence there is for two hours journey terrible way, almost as bad as the *Via Mala*; then an hours journey good way to home

Splugen, which is a large Village of above
 two hundred Houses that are well built, and
 the Inhabitants seem all to live at their ease
 tho they have no sort of Soil but a little
 Meadow Ground about them; this is the
 last Protestant Church that was in our way
 it was well indowed, for the Provision of
 the Minister was near two hundred Crowns
 Those of this Village are the Carriers between
Italy and *Germany*, so they drive a great
 Trade, for there is here a perpetual Carriage
 going and coming; and we are told that
 that there pass generally a hundred Horses
 through this Town one Day with another
 and there are above five hundred Carriage
 horse that belong to this Town. From this
 place we went mounting for three Hours
 we got to the top of the Hills, where there
 is only one great Inn. After that the Way
 was tollerably good for two Hours, and for
 two Hours there is constant descent, which
 for the most part is as steep as if we were
 the while going down Stairs: At the Foot
 this is a little Village, called *Campdolci*
 and here we found we were in *Italy*, by
 by the vast difference of the Climate;
 whereas we were freezing on the other side
 the heat of the Sun was uneasy here, also
 also by the number of the Beggars, tho
 may seem the reverse of what one ought
 expect, since the richest Countrey of *Europe*
 is full of Beggars; and the *Grisons* that
 one of the poorest States have no Beggars
 all. One thing is also strange, that among

the *Grifons*, the rich Wine of the *Valtelline*,
 after it is carried three days journey, is sold
 cheaper then the Wine of other Counteries
 where it grows at the door: but there are
 no Taxes nor Impositions here. From *Camp-*
Volcin there is three hours journey to *Cha-*
vennes, all in a Slow descent, and in some
 places the way is extream rugged and stony.
Chavennes is very pleasantly scituated at the
 very foot of the Mountains, there runs
 through the Town a pleasant little River:
 it is nobly built, and hath a great many rich
 Vineyards about it, and the rebound of the
 sun-beams from the Mountains, doth so in-
 crease the heats here, that the Soil is as rich
 there as in any place of *Italy*. Here one
 begins to see a Noble Architecture in a great
 many houses; in short, all the marks of a
 rich Soil and a free Government appear here.
 The Town stood a little more to the North,
 about five hundred year ago; but a Slice of
 the *Alps* came down upon it, and buried it
 quite, and at the upper end of the Town
 there are some Rocks that look like Ruines;
 about which there hath been a very extra-
 ordinary expence to divide them one from
 another, and to make them fit places for
 ports, and Castles: The marks of the Tools
 appeared all over the Rock in one place. I
 measured the breadth of the one from the
 other, which is twenty foot, the length is
 four hundred and fifty foot, and as we could
 see the Rock was two hundred foot high, cut
 down on both sides in a line as even as a wall,
 to-

towards the top of one the name *Salvo*
 is cut in great Letters a little *Gothick*,
 the tops of those Rocks which are inaccessible,
 except on the one side, and to that ascent
 is extream uneasie, they had Garrison
 during the Wars of *Valteline*: there were
 fifteen hundred in Garrison in that which is
 the middle: There falls down frequent
 slices from the Hills that do extreamly fat
 the ground which they cover, so that
 becomes fruitful beyond expression, and
 saw a Lime-Tree that was planted eight
 thirty years ago, in a piece of ground which
 had been so covered, that was two fathoms
 and a half of compass. On both sides of
 River, the Town and the Gardens belong
 to it, cover the whole Bottom that
 between the Hills, and at the roots of
 Mountains they dig great Cellars, and gra
 toes, and strike a hole about a foot square
 ten or twelve foot into the Hill, which
 the Summer long blows a fresh Air into
 Cellar, so that the Wine of those Cellars
 drinks almost as cold as if it were in Ice;
 this wind-pipe did not blow when I was there
 which was towards the end of September.
 For the Sun opening the pores of the Earth
 and rarifying the exterior Air, that which
 compressed within the cavities that are
 the Mountains, rushes out with a constant
 Wind; but when the operation of the Sun
 is weakned, this course of the Air is
 sensible. Before or over those Vaults they build
 little pleasant rooms like Summer-houses,

them they go to collation generally at night
 Summer. I never saw bigger Grapes then
 now there, there is one sort bigger than
 the biggest Damascene Plums that we have in
 England.

There is a sort of Wine here and in the *Val-*
line, which I never heard named any where
 else, that is called Aromatick-Wine, and as
 the taste makes one think it must be a compo-
 sition, for it tastes like a Strong-water drawn
 of Spices, so its strength being equal to a weak
 brandy, disposes one to believe that it cannot
 be a natural Wine, and yet it is the pure juice
 of the Grape without any mixture. The Li-
 quor being singular, I informed my self par-
 ticularly of the way of preparing it: the Grapes
 are red, tho it drinks white, they let the
 grapes hang on the Vines till *November*,
 that they are extream ripe, then they carry
 them to their Garrets, and set them all upright
 with their ends by one another for two or three
 months, then they pick all the Grapes, and
 throw away those in which there is the least
 appearance of rottenness, so that they press
 only the sound Grapes: after they are pressed
 they put the Liquor in an open Vessel, in
 which it throws up a scum, which they take
 off twice a day, and when no more scum
 comes up, which according to the difference
 of the season is sooner or later, for sometimes
 the scum comes no more after eight days,
 and at other times it continues a fortnight,
 then they put it in a close Vessel; for the first
 year it is extream sweet and luscious, but at
 the

the end of the year they pierce it a little higher than the middle of the Vessel, almost two thirds from the bottom, and drink it off till it cometh so low, and then every year they fill it up a new: once a year in the Month of *March* it ferments, and cannot be drunk till that is over, which continues a Month, but their other Wine ferments not at that time. *Madam Salis*, a Lady of that Countrey, who entertained us three days with a magnificence equal to what can be done in *London* or *Paris* had Wine of this composition that was forty years old, and was so very strong that one could hardly drink above a spoonful, and it tasted high of Spicery, though she assured us there was not one grain of Spice in it, nor any other mixture whatsoever. Thus the heat that is in this Wine, becomes a fire and distils it self, throwing up the more spirituous parts of it to the top of the Hogs-head.

Both here, and in the *Grisons* the Meat is very juicy, the Fowl is excellent, their Rootes and Herbs very tasteful, but the Fish of the Lakes is beyond any thing I ever saw. They live in a great simplicity, as to their habit and furniture, but they have plenty of all things and are extream rich, the Family where we were so nobly entertained is believed to have about two hundred thousand Crowns: but the *Italian* custome of one only of a Family that marries takes place generally. There is a sort of Pots of Stone that is used, not only in all the Kitchens here, but almost throughout *Lombardie* over, called *Lavege*;

Stone feels oily and scaly, so that a scale sticks to ones Finger that touches it, and is somewhat of the nature of a slate, there are but three Mines of it known in these parts, one near *Chavennes*, another in the *Valteline*, and the third in the *Grisons*, but the first is much the best, they generally cut it in the Mine round, of about a foot and a half Diameter, and about a foot and a quarter thick, and they work it in a Mill, where the Chizzels that cut the Stone are driven about by a Wheel that is set a going by Water, and which is so ordered that he who manages the Chizzel, very easily draws forward the Wheel out of the course of the Water; they turn off first the outward coat of this Stone till it is exactly smooth, and then they separate one Pot after another by those small and hooked Chizzels, by which they make a nest of Pots all one within another, the outward and biggest being as big as an ordinary Beef-pot, and the inward Pot being no bigger, than a small Pipkin; these they arm with hooks and circles of brass, and so they are served by them in their kitchens. One of these Stone Pots takes heat and boils sooner than any Pot of Mettle; and whereas the bottoms of Mettle-pots transmit the heat so intirely to the Liquor within, that they are not insufferably hot, the bottom of this Stone-pot which is about twice so thick as a Pot of Mettle, burns extreamly; it never cracks, neither gives it any sort of taste to the Liquor that is boiled in it, but if it falls to the ground it is very brittle, yet this is repaired

paired by patching it up, for they peeces their broken Pots so close, tho without any cement, by sowing with Iron wire the broken parcels together, that in the holes which they pierce with the wire there is not the least breach made, except that which the wire both makes and fills. The passage to this Mine is very inconvenient, for they must creep into it for near half a mile through a Rock that is so hard that the passage is not above three foot high and so those that draw out the Stones creep along upon their belly, having a Candle fastened in their forehead, and the Stone laid on a sort of Cushion made for it upon their hips. The Stones are commonly two hundred weight.

But having mentioned some falls of Mountains in those parts, I cannot pass by the extraordinary fate of the Town of *Pleurs*, that was about a league from *Chavennes* to the North in the same bottom, but on a ground that is a little more raised: The Town was half the bigness of *Chavennes*, the number of the Inhabitants was about two and twenty hundred persons, but it was much more nobly built; for besides the great Palace of the *French*, that cost some millions, there were many other Palaces that were built by several rich Factors both of *Milan* and the other parts of *Italy*, who liked the situation and air as well as the freedom of the Government of that place, so they used to come hither during the heats, and here they gave themselves all the indulgences that a vast wealth could furnish.

By one of the Palaces that was a little distant from the Town, which was not overwhelmed with it, one may judge of the rest: It was an Out-house of the Family of the *Francken*, and yet it may compare with many Palaces in *Italy*; and certainly House and Gardens could not cost so little as one hundred thousand Crowns. The Voluptuousness of this place became very crying, and *Madam de Salis* told me that she heard her Mother often relate some passages of a Protestant Ministers Sermons that preached in a little Church which those of the Religion had there, and warned them often of the terrible Judgments of God which were hanging over their heads, and that he believed would suddenly break out upon them. On the 25th of *August* 1618. an Inhabitant came and told them to be gone, for he saw the Mountains cleaving, but he was laughed at for his pains: He had a Daughter whom he persuaded to leave all and go with him, but when she was gone out of Town with him she called to mind that she had not locked the Door of a Room in which she had some things of value, and so she went back to do that, and was buried with the rest; for at the hour of Supper the Hill fell down and buried the Town and the Inhabitants, so that not one Person escaped: The fall of the Mountains did so fill the Channel of the River, that the first news those of *Chavennes* had of it was by the failing of their River, for three or four hours there came not a drop of Water, but the River sought for it self a new Course and returned

to them, I could hear no particular character of the Man who escaped, so I must leave the secret reason of so singular a preservation to the great discovery at the last day of those steps of divine providence that are now so unaccountable. Some of the Family of the Franks got some Miners to work under ground to find out the wealth that was buried in their Palace ; for besides their Plate and furniture there was a great cash and many Jewels in the House : the Miners pretended they could find nothing, but they went to their Countrey of Tirol, and built fine Houses, and a great wealth appeared, of which no other visible account could be given but this, that they had found some of that treasure. The chief Factors of Italy have been Garisons, and they told me that as the Trade of Banking began in Lombardy, so that all Europe over a Lombard and a Bank signified the same thing, so the great Bankers of Lombardy were Garisons, and on this day the Garrisons drive a great Trade of money ; for a Man there of a hundred thousand Crowns Estate hath not perhaps a third part of this within the Countrey, but puts it out in the neighbouring States : And the sterility of the Countrey is such, that the Nations when they have made up Estates elsewhere are glad to leave even Italy and the best part of Germany, and to come and live among those Mountains, of which the very sight is enough to fill a Man with horror.

From Chavennes we went for two hours through a plain to the Lake of Chavennes.

which is almost round, and is about two miles Diameter. This Lake falls into the Lake of Como over against the Fort Fuentes; when we passed there the Water was so low that the Boat could not easily get over a Bank that lay between the two Lakes. The Lake of Como is about eight and forty miles long and four broad, it runs between two ranges of Hills: I did not stay long enough in Como to give any description of it, for I thought to have returned that way from a little turn that I made into the Baliages that the Switzers have in Italy, of Lugane, Locarno and Bellinzona: But I took another course, so I saw nothing in Como; the best thing in it is a fine Chappel, which the present Pope, who is a Native of Como, is building. From Como we went eight Miles to Codelago, which belongs to the Switzers, and from thence to Lugane we had eight Miles of Lake: this Lake doth not run in an even current as the other Lakes that rise under the Alps; but the scituation of the Hills about it throws it into several Courses.

The Switzers have here several little Provinces or Baliages, of which during the Wars of Italy, between the Dukes of Milan and the two Crowns in Francis the first, and Charles the fifth, time, they possessed themselves as a pledge for payment of their Arrears, and they were then such considerable Allies, that they made both the Competitors for the Dutchy of Milan court them by turns, and became the peaceable possessors of almost all that tract

that lies between the Lake of *Como* to the Countrey of the *Valeffis* or the Valleys. The Inhabitants here are so well used, they live so free of all impositions, and the *Switzers* Government is so gentle, that here I must tell you another Paradox, this is the worst Countrey, the least productive, the most exposed to cold, and the least capable of Trade of all *Italy*, and yet it is by far the best Peopled of any that I saw in all *Italy*: There belongs to the Baliage of *Lugane* alone Ninety-nine Villages, of which a great many are very large, and all are full of people. The twelve ancient *Cantons* have their turns of all the Baliages and other Offices here: but when it comes to the turn of those of the Religion, their Bayliffs must be contented with private devotions in their own House, but can have no publick Exercises, nor so much as a Minister in their Houses. For here as in the *Valtelline* when the *Spaniards* confirmed the right of the *Cantons* to those Territories, they made an expresse provision, that no Religion except the Popish should be tolerated here; so that the Bayliff who is the Prince often hath not the free Liberty of his Religion in these parts. The Bayliffs here make their advantages as well as in the other parts of *Switzerland*, but yet with more caution, for they take great care not to give the Natives any distaste, tho' the Miseries to which they see all their Neighbours exposed, and the abundance and Liberty in which they live, should by all appearance deliver their Masters from any great apprehensions.

sions of a revolt : A great many Mechanicks of all sorts live in these parts, who go all Summer long over *Italy*, and come back hither with what they have gained, and live free of all Taxes. I was told that some Nephews of Popes, in particular the *Barberines* had treated with the *Switzers* to buy this Countrey from them, and so to erect it into a Principality, and that they had resolved to offer twelve thousand Crowns to the twelve *Cantons*, but they found it would certainly be rejected, so they made not the Proposition to the Diet of the *Cantons* as they once intended, and it is certain whensoever this Countrey is brought under a Yoke like that which the rest of *Italy* bears it will be soon abandoned, for there is nothing that draws so many people to live in so ill a Soil, when they are in sight of the best Soil of *Europe*, but the easiness of the Government. From *Lugane* I went to the *Lago Maggiore*, which is a great and noble Lake, it is six and fifty Miles long, and in most places six Miles broad, and a hundred Fathom deep about the middle of it, it makes a great Bay to the Westward, and there lies here two islands called the *Borromean* Islands, that are certainly the loveliest spots of ground in the World, there is nothing in all *Italy* that can be compared to them, they have the full view of the Lake, and the ground rises so sweetly from them that nothing can be imagined like the Terrasses here, they belong to two Counts of the *Borromean* Family. I was only in one of them which belongs to the head of the Family,

milie, who is Nephew to the famous Cardinal
 known by the name of St. Carlo: on the West-
 end lies the Palace, which is one of the best
 of *Italy*, for the Lodgings within, tho the Ar-
 chitecture is but ordinary, there is one noble
 apartment above four and twenty foot high,
 and there is a vast addition making to it, and
 here is a great collection of noble Pictures
 beyond any thing I saw out of Rome: The
 whole Island is a Garden except a little corner
 to the South set off for a Village of about forty
 little Houses, and because the figure of the
 Island was not made regular by Nature, they
 have built great Vaults and Portica's along the
 Rock, which are all made Grotesque, and
 they have brought it into a regular form by lay-
 ing Earth over those Vaults. There is first a
 Garden to the East that rises up from the Lake
 by five rows of Terrasses, on the three sides
 of the Garden that are watered by the Lake
 the Stairs are noble, the Walls are all cov-
 ered with Oranges and Citrons, and a more
 beautiful spot of a Garden cannot be seen.
 There are two buildings in the two corners
 of this Garden, the one is only a Mill for
 fetching up the Water, and the other is a no-
 ble Summer-House all Wainscotted, if I may
 speak so, with Alabaster and Marble of a fine
 colour inclining to red, from this Garden
 goes in a level to all the rest of the Alleys and
 Parterres, Herb-Gardens and Flower-Gar-
 dens, in all which there are Varieties of Foun-
 tains and Arbors, but the great Parterre is a
 surprizing thing, for as it is well furnished

with Statues and Fountains, and is of a vast extent, and justly scituated to the Palace, so at the further-end of it there is a great Mount, that face of it that looks to the Parterre is made like a Theatre all full of Fountains and Statues, the height rising up in five several rows, it being about fifty foot high, and about fourscore foot in front, and round this Mount answering to the five rows into which the Theatre is divided, there goes as many Terrasses of noble Walks, the Walls are all as close covered with Oranges and Citrons as any of our Walls in *England* are with Laurel: the top of the Mount is seventy foot long and forty broad, and here is a vast Cestern into which the Mill plays up the Water that must furnish all the Fountains: The Fountains were not quite finished when I was there, but when all is finished this place will look like an enchanted Island. The freshness of the Air, it being both in a Lake and near the Mountains, the fragant smell, the beautiful Prospect, and the delighting Variety that is here makes it such a Habitation for Summer, that perhaps the whole World hath nothing like it. From this I went to *Sestio*, a miserable Village at the end of the Lake, and here I began to feel a mighty change, being now in *Lombardy*, which is certainly the beautifullest Countrey that can be imagined, the ground lies so even, it is so well watered, so sweetly divided by rows of Trees inclosing every piece of ground of an Acre or two Acres compass, that it cannot be denied that here

is a vast extent of Soil above two hundred Miles long, and in many places a hundred Miles broad, where the whole Countrey is equal to the loveliest spots in all *England* or *France*, it hath all the sweetness that *Holland* or *Flanders* have, but with a warmer Sun and a better Air, the Neighbour-hood of the Mountains causes a freshness of Air here, that makes the Soil the most desirable place to live in that can be seen, if the Government were not so excessively severe, that there is nothing but Poverty over all this rich Countrey. A Traveller in many places finds almost nothing, and is so ill furnished, that if he doth not buy provisions in the great Towns, he will be obliged to a very severe Diet, in a Countrey that he should think flowed with Milk and Honey: But I shall say more of this hereafter. The *Lago Maggiore* discharges it self in the River *Tesine*, which runs with such a force that we went thirty Miles in three hours, having but one Rower, and the Water was no way swelled. From this we went into the Channel which *Francis* the first cut from this River to the Town of *Milan*, which is about thirty foot broad, and on both its Banks there are such provisions to discharge the Water when it rises, to such a height, that it can never be fuller of Water then is intended it should be; it lies also so even that sometimes for six Miles together one sees the Line so exact that there is not the least crook: it is thirty Miles long, and is the best advantage that the Town of *Milan* hath for Water carriage.

I will not entertain you with a long description of this great City, which is one of the noblest in the World, to be an Inland Town that hath no great Court, no commerce either by Sea or any Navigable River, and that is now the Metropolis of a very small State; for that which is not Mountainous in this State, is not above fixty Miles square, and yet it produces a wealth that is surprizing: It pays for an establishment of seven and forty thousand Men, and yet there are not sixteen thousand Souldiers effectively in it, so many are eat up by those in whose hands the Government is Lodged: But the vastness of the Town, the Nobleness of the Buildings, and above all the surprizing riches of the Churches and Convents are signs of great wealth: The Dome hath nothing to commend it of Architecture, it being built in the rude Gothick manner, but for the vastness and Riches of the Building, it is equal to any in *Italy*, *St. Peters* it self not excepted. It is all Marble; both Pavement, and Walls both outside and inside, and on the top it is all flagg'd with Marble; and there is the vastest number of Niches for Statues of Marble, both within and without, that are any where to be seen. It is true the Statues in some of the Niches are not proportioned to the Niches themselves; the Frontispiece is not yet made, it is to be all over covered with Statues and bass reliefs; and the Pillars of which there are four Rows in the body of the Church, have each of them eight Niches at the top for so many Statues; and tho one would think this Church so full of Sta-

tues, that almost every Saint hath his Statue, I
 was assured they wanted seven thousand to
 nish the design, but these must chiefly belong
 the Frontispiece : The Church as I could me-
 sure it by walking over it in an equal pace,
 five hundred foot long, and two hundred wide
 the Quire is Wainscotted and carved in
 extraordinary a manner, that I never saw Pa-
 sion so well expressed in Wood ; it contain
 sixty Stalls, and they have almost all the Histo-
 ries of the Gospel reprinted in them. Just un-
 der the *Cupulo* lies *St. Carlo's* body, as I was
 told, in a great case of Chrystal of vast value
 but I could not come near it ; for we were
 there on two Holy-days, and there was a perpe-
 tual crowd about it ; and the Superstition of the
 people for his Body, is such, that on a Holy-
 day one runs a hazzard that comes near
 without doing some reverence. His Canon-
 ization cost the Town a hundred thousand
 Crowns, they pretend they have Miracles too
 for Cardinal *Frederigo Borromee* ; but they
 will not set about his Canonization, the price
 is so high. The Plate and other Presents made
 to *St. Carlo* are things of a prodigious value,
 some Services for the Altar are all of Gold,
 some very Massie and set with Jewels, others
 finely wrought that the fashion is thought equal
 to the value of the Mettle ; the Habits and all
 the other Ornaments for the Function of his
 Canonization are all of an incredible Wealth.
 He was indeed a Prelate of great Merit, and ac-
 cording to the Answer that a Fryer made to *Philip
 de Comines*, when he asked him how they
 came

came to qualifie one of the worst of their Princes with the Title of Saint in an inscription which he read, which was, that they gave that Title to all their Benefactors; never man deserved of a Town this Title so justly as Cardinal *Borromee* did, for he laid out a prodigious Wealth in *Milan*, leaving nothing to his Family, but the Honour of having produced so great a man, which is a real temporal Inheritance to it, for as there have been, since that time, two Cardinals of that Family, so it is esteemed a *Casa Santa*; and every time that it produces an Ecclesiastick of any considerable Merit, he is sure, if he lives to it, to be raised to this Arch-Bishoprick, for if there were one of the Family capable of it, and that did not carry it, that alone might dispose the State to a Rebellion, and he were a bold man that would adventure on a Competition with one of this Family. He laid out a great deal on the Dome and consecrated it, tho the work will not be quite finished yet for some Ages, that being one of the crafts of the *Italian* Priests never to finish a great design, that so by keeping it still in an unfinished Estate, they may be always drawing great Donatives to it, from the Superstition of the people. He built the Arch-Bishops Palace, which is very noble, and Seminary, a Colledge for the *Switzers*, several Parish Churches, and many Convents. In short, the whole Town is full of Marks of his Wealth, The riches of the Churches of *Milan* strike one with amazement, the Building, the painting, the Altars, and the Plate, and every

ry thing in the Convents, except their Libraries, are all signs both of great Wealth and a very powerful Superstition, but their Libraries not only here, but all *Italy* over are scandalous things, the Room is often firm and richly adorned, but the Books are few, bound, and worse chosen, and the ignorance of the Priests both secular and Regular is such that no man that hath not had an occasion to discover it, can easily believe it. The Convent of *St. Victor* that is without the Town, is by much the richest, it is composed of Canons Regular called in *Italy* the Order of Mount Olive, or *Olivetani*, that of the *Barnabites* is extremely rich, there is a Pulpit and a Confessional all inlaid with Agates of different colours, finely spotted Marbles, and of *Lapis Lazulis* that are thought almost inestimable. *St. Laurence* has a noble Cupola, and a Pulpit of the same form with that of the *Barnabites*. The Jesuits, the *Theatines*, the *Dominicans*, and *St. Sebastian* are very rich. The Cittadel is too well known to need a description, it is very regularly built and is a most effectual restraint to keep the Town in order, but it could not stand out against a good Army three days; for it is so little, and so full of Buildings, that it could not resist a shower of Bombs. The Hospital is indeed a Royal Building, I was told it had ninety thousand Crowns Revenue: the old Court is large and would look noble if it were not for the new Court that is near it, which is two hundred and fifty foot square; and there are three rows of Corridors or Galleries all round the Court

Court, one in every Stage according to the *Italian* manner, which makes the Lodgings very convenient, and gives a Gallery before every door : It is true these take up a great deal of the Building, being ordinary eight or ten foot broad ; but then here is an open space that is extream cool on that side where the Sun doth not lie, for it is all open to the Air, the Wall being only supported by Pillars, at the distance of fifteen or twenty foot one from another. In this Hospital there are not only Galleries full of Beds on both sides, as is Ordinary in all Hospitals ; but there are also a great many Chambers in which persons whose condition was formerly distinguished are treated with a particular care. There is an out-house which is called the *Lazarette*, that is without the Walls, which belongs to this Hospital, it is an exact quarter of a mile square, and there are three hundred and sixty Rooms in it, and a Gallery runs all along before the Chambers, so that as the service is convenient, the sick have a covered walk before their Doors. In the middle of this vast square there is an Octangular Chappel, so contrived that the sick from all their Beds may see the elevation of the Host and adore it : This House is for the Plague or for infectious Feavers, and the Sick that want a freer Air, are also removed hither.

As for the devotions of this place, I saw here the *Ambrosian* Office, which is distinguished from the *Roman*, both in the Musick which is much simpler, and in some other rites : the Gospel

Gospel is read in a high Pulpit at the lower end of the Quire, so that it may be heard by all the people, tho this is needless, since it is read in a language that they do not understand: when they go to say high Mass, the Priests come from the high Altar to the lower end of the Quire, where the Offertory of the Bread and the Wine is made by some of the Laity, they were Nuns that made it when I was there. I heard a Capucin Preach here: It was the first Sermon I heard in Italy, and I was much surprized at many Comical expressions and gestures, but most of all with the conclusion; for there being in all the Pulpits of Italy a Crucifix on the side of the Pulpit towards the Altar, he, after a long address to it, at last in a forced transport, took it in his Arms and hugged it and kissed it: But I observed that before he kissed it: he seeing some dust on it, blew it off very carefully, for I was just under the Pulpit: He entertained it with a long and tender caress, and held it out to the people, and would have forced tears both from himself and them, yet I saw none shed. But if the sermon in the morning surprized me, I wondred no less at two discourses that I heard in one Church, at the same time, in the afternoon: for there were two bodies of men set down in different places of the Church all covered, and two Laymen in ordinary habits were entertaining them with discourses of Religion in a Catechistical stile: These were Confrairies, and those were some of the more devout that instructed the rest. This I never saw any where else, so I do

I do not know whether it is peculiar to *Milan* or not. My Conductor could not speak *Latin*, and the *Italian* there is so different from the true *Tuscan* which I only knew, that I could not understand him when he was engaged in a long discourse, so I was not clearly informed of this matter; but I am apt to think it might have been some institution of Cardinal *Borromees*. The *Ambrosian* Library founded by Cardinal *Frederick Borromee* is a very noble Room and well furnished, only it is too full of School-men and Canonists, which are the chief Studies of *Italy*, and it hath too few Books of a more solid and useful Learning. One part of the disposition of the Room was pleasant, there is a great number of Chairs placed all round it at a competent distance from one another, and to every Chair there belongs a Desk with an *Escritoire* that hath Pen, Ink, and Paper in it, so that every Man finds tools here for such extracts as he would make. There is a little Room of Manuscripts at the end of the great Gallery, but the Library-keeper knows little of them, a great many of them relate to their Saint *Charles*. I saw some fragments of *Latin* Bibles, but none seemed to be above six hundred years old, there are also some fragments of Saint *Ambrose's* works, and of Saint *Jerom's* Epistles that are of the same antiquity. I was sorry not to find Saint *Ambrose's* works intire, that I might have seen whether the Books of the Sacraments are ascribed to him in ancient Copies, for perhaps they belong to a more modern Author. It is true

true in these Books the doctrine of a sort of
 a corporeal presence is asserted in very high ex-
 pressions; but there is one thing mentioned
 in them, which is stronger against it than all
 those citations can be for it; for the Author
 gives us the formal words of the Prayer of con-
 secration in his time, which he prefaces with
 some solemnity: will you know how the
 change is wrought, hear the Heavenly words
 For the Priest saith, but whereas in the pre-
 sent Canon of the Mass, the Prayer of Consecra-
 tion is for a good part of it very near in the
 same words with those which he mentions, there
 is one essential difference, for in the Canon they
 now pray that the Host may be to them the
 Body and Blood of Christ, (which by the way
 doth not agree too well with the Notion of
 Transubstantiation, and approacheth more
 to the Doctrine of the *Lutherans*;) whereas
 in the Prayer, cited by that Author, the Host
 is said to be the figure of the Body and Blood
 of Christ: here is the Language of the whole
 Church of that time, and in the most impor-
 tant part of the Divine Office, which signifies
 more to me than a thousand Quotations out of
 particular Writers, which are but their pri-
 vate opinions: but this is the voice of the
 whole Body in it addresses to God: and it
 seems the Church of *Rome*, when the new
 Doctrine of the Corporeal presence was received
 saw that this Prayer of Consecration could not
 consist with it, which made her change such
 a main part of the Office. This gave me
 curiosity every where to search for ancient
 Offices

Offices, but I found none in the Abbey of
 St. *Germain* that seem'd older then the times
 of *Charles* the Great; so I found none of any
 great Antiquity in all *Italy*: Those publish-
 ed by Cardinal *Bona*, and since by *P. Ma-*
conillon, that were brought from *Heidel-*
berg, are the most ancient that are in the *Va-*
tican; but these seem not to be above eight
 hundred years old: There are none of the
 ancient *Roman* Offices now to be seen in the
Vatican. I was amazed to find none of any
 great Antiquity; which made me conclude
 that either they were destroyed, that so the
 difference between Ancient and Modern Ri-
 tuals might not be turned against that Church,
 or an undeniable Evidence to prove the
 changes that she hath made in divine matters,
 that they were so well kept that Hereticks,
 were not to be suffered to look into them. But
 I return to the *Ambrosian* Library, there is in
 a Manuscript of great Antiquity, tho not of
 such great consequence, which is *Ruffinus's*
 translation of *Iosephus*, that is written in the
 old *Roman* hand, which is very hard to be read.
 But there is a deed in the curious Collection
 that Count *Mascado* hath made at *Verona*
 which by the date appears to have been written
 in *Theodosius's* time, which is the same sort of
 writing with the Manuscript of *Ruffinus*, so
 that it may reckoned to have been writ in
Ruffinus his own time, and this is the most va-
 luable, tho the least known curiosity in the
 whole Library.

I need not say any thing of the curious works
 in

in Cristal that are to be seen in *Milan*; the greatest quantities that are in *Europe*, are found in the *Alps*, and are wrought here; but this is too well known to need any further enlargement. It is certain the *Alps* have much Wealth shut up in their Rocks, if the Inhabitants knew how to search for it: But I heard of no Mines that were wrought except *Iron* Mines yet by the colourings, that in many places the Fountains make, as they run along the Rocks, one sees cause to believe that there are Mines and Minerals shut up within them. It hath been often found in the River of *Arve*, that runs by *Geneva*.

The last curiosity that I shall mention of the Town of *Milan* is the Cabinet of the *Cardinal Setta*, which is now in his Brothers hands where there are a great many very valuable things both of Art and Nature: there is a lump of Ore, in which there is both *Gold* and *Silver* and *Emerals*, and *Diamonds*, which were brought from *Peru*. There are many curiosities where by an unseen Spring, a Ball after it hath rowled down through many winding descents, is thrown up, and so it seems to be a perpetual motion, this is done in several forms, and it is well enough disguised to deceive the vulgar. Many motions of little Animals that run about by Springs are also very pretty. There is a *Loadstone* of a vast force that can move a great Chain: There is also a monstrous Creature that was lately born in the Hospital, which is preserved in Spirit of Wine: it is double bellied it hath one breast and neck, two pair of ears

cast head and but one face. As for the Build-
 ings in *Milan* they are big and substantial, but
 they have not much regular or beautiful Archi-
 tecture: The Governors Palace hath some no-
 ble Appartments in it: The chief Place of the
 Town is that of the *Homodei*, which was built
 by a Banker. There is one inconvenience in
Milan, which throws down all the pleasure that
 one can find in it: they have no Glass-windows,
 so that one is either exposed to the Air, or shut
 up in a Dungeon: and this is so universal, that
 there is not one House of ten that hath Glass in
 their Windows: the same defect is in *Flo-*
rence, besides all the small Towns of *Italy*,
 which is an effect of their Poverty: For what
 by the oppression of their Government, what by
 the no less squeezing oppression of their Priests,
 who drain all the rest of their Wealth that is
 not eat up by the Prince, to enrich their Chur-
 ches and Convents, the people here are reduced
 to a Poverty that cannot be easily believed by
 one that sees the Wealth that is in their Chur-
 ches, and this is going on so constantly in *Milan*:
 that it is scarce accountable from whence so vast
 a Treasure can be found; but Purgatory is a
 bond not easily exhausted. The Wealth of
 the *Milanefes* consists chiefly in their Silks, and
 that Trade falls so mightily by the vast Impor-
 tations that the *East-India* Companies bring in-
 to *Europe*, that all *Italy* feels this very sensi-
 bly, and languishes extremely by the great fall
 that is in the Silk-Trade: There is a great mag-
 nificence in *Milan*; the Nobility affect to make
 a noble appearance both in their Cloaths, their
 Coaches

Coaches, and their Attendants; and the Women go abroad with more freedom here than in any Town of *Italy*. And thus I have told you all that hath hitherto occurred to me, that I thought worth your knowledge. I am.

Postscript.

In the account that I gave you of *Geneva* I forgot to mention a very extraordinary person that is there *Mistress Walkier*; her Father is of *Shaff-house* she lost her sight when she was but a year old, by being too near a stove that was very hot: There rests in the upper part of her eye so much sight, that she distinguishes day from night: and when any person stands between her and the light she will distinguish the head and its dress a Man from a Woman: when she turns down her eyes she sees nothing she hath a vast Memory; besides the French that is her natural Language, she speaks both *Higb-Dutch*, *Italian* and *Latin*, she hath all the *Psalms* by heart, in *French*, and many of them in *Dutch* and *Italian*: she understands the Old Philosophy well, and is now studying the New: she hath studied the body of Divinity well, and hath the Texts of the Scriptures very ready: On all which matters I had long conversations with her; she not only sings well but she plays rarely on the *Organ*; and I was told she played on the *Violin*, but her *Violin* was out of order. But that which is most of all, is, she writes legibly: in order to her learning to write, her Father who is a worthy man and hath such tenderness for her, that he furnished her

Whe sheh her with Masters of all sorts, ordered
 letters to be carved in VVood, and she by feel-
 ing the Characters formed such an Idea of them,
 that she writes with a crayon so distinctly that
 the writing can be well read, of which I have
 several Effaies. I saw her write, she doth it
 more nimbly then can be imagined; she hath a
 machine that holds the Paper, and keeps her al-
 ways in line. But that which is above all the
 rest, she is a person of extraordinary Devotion,
 great resignation to the VVill of God, and a pro-
 found humility: The Preceptor that the Father
 kept in the House with her, hath likewise a
 wonderful faculty of acquiring Tongues.
 When he came first to *Geneva* (for he is of *Zu-
 rich*) he spoke not a word of *French*, and with-
 in thirteen Months he Preacht in *French* cor-
 rectly, and with a good accent: He also began
 to study *Italian* in the Month of *November*,
 and before the end of the following *February*
 he Preacht in *Italian*; his accent was good, and
 his stile florid, which was very extraordi-
 nary, for the *Italian* Language is not spoken in
Geneva, tho the race of the *Italians* do keep up
 an *Italian* Church there.

THE THIRD LETTER

Florence, the 5th of November.

I Have now another Month over my head since I writ last to you, and so I know expect an account of the most considerable things that have occurred to me since my return from *Milan*. Twenty Miles from *Milan* we pass through *Lodia* a miserable Garrison, the Frontier Town; but indeed the Frontier is both of the *Spaniards* and the *Venetians*, as well as those of the other Princes of *Italy*, that they are not very apprehensive of another; and when one passes through such places, which are represented in History as places of great strength, capable of resisting a long Siege, he must acknowledge that the sight of them, brings the Idea that he had conceived of them, a great many degrees lower. *Lombardy*, which was so long the seat of War, could not stand out against a good Army for so many days, as it did then for years. The Garrison of *Crema* which is the first of the *Venetian* Territory, is no better then that of *Comi*

only the people in the *Venetian* Dominion
 are happier then under the *Spaniard*.

The Senate sends *Podesta's* much like the
Sheriffs of the *Switzers* who order the Ju-
 stice and the Civil Government of the Jurisdic-
 tion assigned them: There is also a Captain
 General who hath the Military Authority in his
 hands; and these two are checks upon one
 another, as the *Bassa's* and the *Cadi's* are
 among the *Turks*. But here in *Crema* the
 Town is so small that both these are in one per-
 son. We were there in the time of the Fair,
 Linnen Cloath and Cheefe, which tho it goes
 by the name of *Parmesan*, is made chiefly in
 the *Lodi* are the main ingredients of the Fair. The
 magnificence of the *Podesta* appeared very ex-
 traordinary, for he went through the Fair
 with a great Train of Coaches, all in his own
 ivery; and the two Coaches in which he and
 his Lady ride were both extraordinary rich: his
 was a huge Bed-Boach, all the outside black
 Velvet, and a mighty rich Gold Fringe, lined
 with black Damask, flowred with Gold.
 From *Crema* it is thirty miles to *Brescia*,
 which is a great Town, and full of Trade
 and Wealth, here they make the best Barrils for
 the *Pistols* and *Muskets* of all *Italy*: there are great
 iron works near it: but the *War* with the
Turks had occasioned an order that none might
 be sold without a permission from *Venice*:
 They are building a Noble Dom at *Bescia*: I
 was shewed a Nunery there, which is now under
 a great disgrace, some years ago a new Bishop
 coming thither, began with the Visitation of
 that

that Nunnery: he discovered two Vaults, by one, men came ordinarily into it: and by another the Nuns that were big went and lay in of Childbed: when he was examining the Nuns severely concerning those Vaults, some of them told him, that his own Priests did much worse. He shut up the Nuns, so that those who are professed live still there, but none come to take the Vail: and by this means the house will soon come to an end: The Cittadel lies over the Town on a Rock, and commands it absolutely. Both here and in *Crema* the Towns have begun a Complement within these last ten or twelve years to their *Podesta's*, which is a matter of great Ornament to their Palaces, but will grow to a vast charge, for they erect Statues to their *Podesta's*: and this being once begun, must be carried on: otherwise those to whom the like honour is not done will resent it as a high affront, and the revenges of the Noble *Venetians*, are dreadful things to their subjects. This name of *Podesta* is very ancient for in the Roman times, the chief Magistrates of the lesser Towns was called the *Potestas*, as appears by that of *Juvenal Fidenarum Gabiorumve potestas*.

From *Brescia* the beauty of *Lombardy* is little interrupted, for as all the way from *Milan* to *Brescia* is as one Garden, so here on the one side we come under the Mountains, and we pass by the Lake of *Guarda*, which is forty miles long, and where it is broadest, is twenty miles broad: The miles indeed, all *Lombardy* over, are extream short, for walkt off

four or five miles in a walk, and I found a thousand paces made their common mile; but in *Tuscany* and the Kingdom of *Naples*, the mile is fifteen hundred paces. We pass through a great Heath for seven or eight miles on this side of *Verona*, which begins to be cultivated. *Verona* is a vast Town, and much of it well built; there are many rich Churches in it: but there is so little Trade stirring, and so little money going, that it is not easy here to change a Pistol, without taking their coin of base alloy, which doth not pass out of the *Veronese*: for this seems a strange maxim of the *Venetians* to suffer those small States to retain still a coin peculiar to them, which is extream inconvenient for Commerce. The known Antiquity of *Verona* is the Amphitheater, one of the least of all that the *Romans* built, but the best preserved, for the most of the great stones of the outside are pickt out: yet the great sloping Vault on which the rows of the seats are laid is entire the rows of the seats are also entire, they are forty rows, every row is a foot and half high, and as much in breadth, so that a man sits conveniently in them, under the feet of those of the higher row; and allowing every man a foot and a half, the whole Amphitheater can hold twenty three thousand persons. In the Vaults; under the rows of seats were the stalls of the Beasts that were presented to entertain the company: the thickness of the building, from the outward Wall to the lowest row of seats, is ninety foot: But this Noble remnant of Antiquity is so often and so

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copiously

copiously described, that I will say no more of it. The next thing of value is the famous *Museum Calceolarium*, now in the Hands of the Count *Mascardo*, where there is a whole apartment of Rooms all furnisht with antiquities and rarities: There are some old Inscriptions made by two Towns in *Africk*, to the honour of *M. Crassus*: There is a great collection of Medals and Medaillons, and of the Roman weights with their instruments for their Sacrifices, there are many curiosities of nature, and a great collection of Pictures, of which many are of *Paulo Veronese's* hand. There is a noble Garden in *Verona* that rises up in Terrasses the whole Height of a Hill, in which there are many ancient Inscriptions, which belongs to Count *Giustiz*. As we go from *Verona* to *Vincenza* which is thirty miles, we return to the beauty of *Lombardy*, for there is all the way as it were a succession of Gardens, the ground is better cultivated here than I saw it in any other place of *Italy*: But the Wine is not good, for at the roots of their Trees they plant a Vine which grows winding about the Tree to which it joyns; but the soil is too rich to produce a rich Wine for that requires a dry ground: There is near the Lake of *Guarda* a very extraordinary Wine which they call *Vino Santo*, which drinks like the best sort of Canary, it is not made till Christmas, and from thence it carries the name of Holy Wine, and it is not to be drunk till Midsummer, for it is so long before it is quite wrought clear, but I have not

marked

marked down how long it may be kept: we had it there for a groat an *English* quart, I wondred that they did not trade with it. All the Cattle of *Italy* are gray or white, and all their Hogs are black, except in the *Bolognese*, and there they are red. I will not inquire into the reasons of these things: it is certain Hogs-Flesh in *Italy* is much better then it is in *France* and *England*, whether the truffs on which the feed much in Winter, occasion this or not I know not, the husks of the pressed Grapes is also a mighty nourishment to them; but Cattel of that grayish colour are certainly weaker: The carriage of *Italy* is generally performed by them, and this is very hard work in *Lombardy* when it hath rained ever so little, for the ground being quite level, and there being no raised high-waies or cause-waies, the Carts go deep and are hardly drawn.

Vincenza hath still more of its ancient liberty reserved then any of these Towns, as *Padua* hath less, for it delivered it self to the *Venetians*, whereas the other disputed long with it, and brought it often very low: one sees the marks of liberty in *Vincenza* in the riches of their Palaces and Churches, of which many are newly built: they have a modern Theater made in imitation of the ancient *Roman* Theaters. Count *Valarano's* Gardens at the Port of *Verona*, is the finest thing of the Town, there is in it a very noble Alley of Oranges and Citrons, some as big as a mans body, but those are covered all the Winter long, for in this appears the sensible difference of

Lombardy from those parts of *Italy* that lye to the South of the *Apenins*, that here generally they keep their Oranges and Citrons in great boxes as we do in *England*, that so they may be lodged in Winter, and defended from the breezes that blow sometimes so sharp from the Alps, that otherwise they would kill those delicate Plants: whereas in *Tuscany* they grow as other Trees in their Gardens, and in the Kingdom of *Naples* they grow wild without any care or cultivation. VVe were at *Vincenza* upon a Holy-day, and there I saw a preparation for a Proceſſion that was to be in the afternoon: I did not wonder at what a French Papist ſaid to me, that he could hardly bear the Religion of *Italy*, the Idolatry in it was ſo groſs. The Statue of the Virgin was of Wood ſo finely painted that I thought the head was Wax, it was richly clad, and had a Crown on its Head, and was ſet full of Flowers: how they did when it was carried about I do not know; but in the morning all people run to it and ſaid their prayers to it, and kiſſed the ground before it with all the appearances of devotion.

From *Vincenza* it is eighteen miles to *Padua* all like a Garden: here one ſees the decay of a vaſt City, which was once one of the biggeſt of all *Italy*; the compaſs is the ſame that it was, but there is much uninhabited ground in it, and Houſes there go almoſt for nothing, the Air is extream good, and there is ſo great a plenty of all things except mony, that a little mony goes a great way. The Univerſity here,

here, tho so much supported by the *Venetians*, that they pay fifty Professors, yet sinks extremely : there are no men of any great fame now in it: and the quarrels among the students have driven away most of the strangers that used to come and study here, for it is not safe to stir abroad here after Sun set : The number of the Palaces here is incredible, and tho the Nobility of *Padua* is almost quite ruined, yet the beauty of their ancient Palaces shews what they once were. The *Venetians* have been willing to let the ancient quarrels that were in all those conquered Cities continue still among them, for while one kills another, and the Children of the other take their revenges afterwards, both comes under the bando by this means, and the Confiscation goes to the Senate. At sometimes of grace when the Senate wants money, and offers a pardon to all that will compound for it the numbers of the guilty persons are incredible. In *Vincenza* and the Country that belongs to it, I was assured by *Monfieur Patin*, that learned Antiquary, that hath been many years a Professor in *Padua*, that there were five and thirty thousand pardoned at the last grace ; this I could hardly believe, but he bid me write it down upon his word. The Nobility of *Padua* and of the other Towns seem not to see what a profit their quarrels bring to the *Venetians*, and how they eat out their families : for one Family in the same mans time, who was alive while I was there, was reduced from fourteen thousand Ducats revenue to less then three thousand, by its falling at several times

under the bando: But their jealousies and their revenges are pursued by them with so much vigor, that when these are in their way, all other things are forgot by them. There is here the remnant of the Amphitheater tho nothing but the outward Wall stands: There is here, as well as in *Milan*, an inward Town, called the City, and an outward, without that, called the *Burgo*; but tho there is a Ditch about the City, the great Ditch and Wall goeth about all and *Padua* is eight miles in compass; it lies almost round: The publick Hall is the Noblest of *Italy*: The Dome is an ancient and mean Building: but the Church of St. *Anthony*, especially the Holy Chappel in it where the Saint lies, is one of the best pieces of modern Sculpture: for round the Chappel the chief Miracles in the legend of that Saint are represented in *Mezzo rilievo*, in a very surprizing manner: The devotion that is paid to the Saint, all *Lombardy* over, is amazing: he is called by way of excellence *il Santo*, and the Beggars generally ask Alms for his sake: But among the little Vows that hang without the Holy Chappel, there is one that is the highest pitch of Blasphemy that can be imagined *Ex audit*, speaking of the Saint *quos non audit & ipse Deus*, he hears those whom God himself doth not hear. St. *Justina* is a Church so well ordered within, the Architecture is so beautiful, it is so well inlightned, and the *Cupulos* are so advantageously placed that if the outside answered the inside, it would be one of the best Churches of *Italy*, but the Building is of Brick

and it hath no Frontispiece, there are many new Altars made as fine as they are Idolatrous, all full of Statues of Marble. This Abby hath a hundred thousand Ducats of Revenne, and so by its Wealth one may conclude that it belongs to the *Benedictine* Order. Cardinal *Barberigo*, is Bishop here he seems to set St. *Carlo* before him as his pattern, he hath founded a Noble Seminary for the secular Priests; he lives in a constant discipline himself, and endeavours to reform his Clergy all he can; but he is now in ill terms with his Canons, who are all Noble *Venetians*, and so allow themselves great liberties, of which they will not be willingly abridged: he is charitable to a high degree, and is in all respects a very extraordinary man.

In the *Venetian* Territory their subjects live ease and happy, if they could be so wise as to give over their quarrels, but tho the taxes are not high, they oppress their Tenants so severely, that the Peasants live most miserably, yet on all hands round about them, the oppressions being more intollerable, they know not whither to go for ease, whereas on the contrary, the miseries under which their neighbours groan, chiefly those of the Ecclesiastical state, send in an increase of people among them, so that they are well stockt with people, but the *Venetians* are so jealous of their Subjects understanding Military matters, which may dispose them to revolt, that they never make any Levies among them for their Wars, this jealousy is the true ground of that maxim, the other is pretended that is more plausible, which is their care of
 F 4 their

their own people, whom they study to pre-
 serve, and therefore they hire Strangers rather
 then expose their Subjects. It is certain
 revolt here were no hard matter to effectuate
 for the Garrisons and Fortifications are so
 slight, that those great Towns could easily
 shake off their yoke, if it were not for the
 Factions that still reign among them, by
 which one party would chuse rather to ex-
 pose the other to the rigor of the Inquisi-
 tors then concur with them in asserting
 their liberty, and the Inquisitors in such
 cases proceed so secretly, and yet so effectually
 that none dares trust another with
 a secret of such consequence, and the
 oppressed Nobility of those States re-
 tain still so much of their old and unsubdued
 insolence, and treat such as are under them
 cruelly, that the *Venetians* are as secure in
 those Conquests, as if they had many strong
 Cittadels and numerous Garrisons spread
 and down among them. From *Padua* down to
Venice, all along the River *Brent*, there are
 many Palaces of the Noble *Venetians*. On
 both sides of the River, built with so great
 variety of Architecture, that there is not one
 of them like another, there is also the like di-
 versity in the laying out of their Gardens, and
 here they retire during the Hot months, and
 some allow themselves all the excesses of dis-
 solute liberty that can possibly be imagined.
 From *Lizza Fiuma* which is at the mouth of
 the *Brent*, we pass for five or six miles on the
 Lagunes or shallows to *Venice*, these shallows

sunk of late so much that the preserving
Venice still an Island, is like to become as
great a charge to the *Venetians*, as the
keeping out the sea is to the *Dutch*; for
they use all possible industry to cleanse the
Channels of their lagunes, and keep them
full of water: and yet many think that the
water hath failed so much in this last age,
that if it continues to abate at the same rate,
within an age or two more *Venice* may become
a part of the *Terra firma*. It is certainly the
most surprizing sight in the whole World, to
see so vast a City, scituated thus in the Sea,
and such a number of Islands so united to-
gether by Bridges brought to such a regular
figure, the *Pilotty* supplying the want of
Earth to Build on, and all so Nobly Buile,
which is of all the things that one can see the
most amazing. And tho this Republick is much
sunk from what it was, both by the great
losses they have suffered in their Wars with
the *Turks*, and by the great decay of Trade,
yet there is an incredible Wealth, and a vast
plenty of all things in this place. I will not
offer to describe neither the Church nor the
Palace of *S. Mark* which are too well known
to need a long digression to be made for them
the Painting of the Walls and the roofs of the
Halls, and publick Rooms in the Palace,
are of vast value: Here I saw that Story
of Pope Alexander the III. treading on the
neck of the Emperor *Frederick Barbarossa*.
The nobleness of the stair-cases, the riches
of the Halls, and beauty of the whole
build-

building, are much prejudiced by the beastliness of those that walk along, and that leave their marks behind them, as if this were rather a common house of Office, then so Noble a Palace : And the great Hall, where the whole body of the Nobility meet, in the Great Council, hath nothing but the roof and walls that answers to such an Assembly ; for the Seats are liker the Benches of an Auditory of Schollars, than of so Glorious a Body. When the two sides of this Palace are built as the third, which is the most hid, it will be one of the glorious Palaces that the World can shew. The two sides that are most seen, the one facing the square of *St. Mark*, and the other the great Canale, are only of Brick, the third being all of Marble ; but the War of *Candy* put a stop to the building. *St. Mark's Church* hath nothing to recommend it, but its great Antiquity, and the vast Riches of the building, it is dark and low, but the Pavement is so rich a Mosaick, and the whole Roof is all Mosaick ; the outside, and inside, are of such excellent Marble, the frontispiece is adorned with so many Pillars of *Porphyry* and *Jasper*, and above all with the four Horses of *Carthaginian* Brass, that *Tiridates* brought to *Tiberius*, which were carried afterwards to *Constantinople*, and were brought from thence to *Venice*, and in which the gilding is so very bright, that when all this is considered one doth no where see so much cost brought together. I did not see the Gospel of

Mark, which is one of the valuablest things
 of the *Treasure*; but they do not now open
 it to strangers, yet *Doctor Grandi*, a famous
 Physician there, told me that, by a particular
 order, he was suffered to open it; he told
 me it was all writ in Capital Letters, but the
 characters were so worn out, that tho he
 could discern the ends of some Letters, he
 could not see enough to help him to distin-
 guish them or to know whether the M. S.
 was in *Greek* or *Latin*. I will not say one
 word of the *Arsenal*, for as I saw it in its
 worst state, the War that is now on foot
 having disfurnished a great deal of it, so it
 hath been often described, and it is known
 to be the Noblest Magazine, the best ordred,
 and of the greatest variety that is in the whole
 World: its true it is all that this State hath,
 so that if the Magazines of other Princes,
 which lie spread up and down in the different
 places of their dominions were gathered to-
 gether, they would make a much greater
 shew. The Noblest Convent of *Venice* is
 that of the *Dominicans*, called *St. John*,
 and *S. Paul*, the Church, and Chappels are
 vastly rich: there is one of *St. Luke's* Ma-
 dona's here as they pretend; the Dormitory
 is very great; the Room for the Library,
 and every thing in it, except the Books, is
 extream fine. But *St. George*, which is a
 Convent of the *Benedictines* in an Isle intirely
 possessed by them over against the *St. Marks*
 square is much the richest: the Church is well
 contrived and well adorned: and not only the
 whole

whole Building is very magnificent, but which is more extraordinary at *Venice* they have a large Garden, and noble Walks in it. The Redemptory, and the Salute are two Noble Churches that are the Effects of Vows that the Senate made when they were afflicted with the Plague, the latter is much the finer, it is to the Virgin, and the other is only to our Saviour: so naturally doth the Devotion of that Church carry it higher for the Mother than the Son: It is true, the Salute is later than the other, so no wonder if the Architecture, and the Riches exceed that which is more ancient. The School of Saint Roch, and the Chappel, and Hall are full of great pieces of Tintorets: a *Cena* of *Paulo Veronese* in the Refectory of St. George, and the Picture of St. Peter the Martyr of *Titians* are the most celebrated pieces of *Venice*: Duke *Pesaro's* Tomb in the Frairy is the Noblest I ever saw. But if the Riches of all the Convents, and the Parish Churches of *Venice* amazed me, the fronts especially, many of which are of white Marble, beautified with several Statues; the meanness of the Library of St. Mark did no less surprize me. There are in the Antichamber to it, Statues of vast value, and the whole Roof of the Library is compos'd of several pieces of the greatest Masters put in several Frames: but the Library hath nothing answerable to the Riches of the case, for the *Greek* Manuscripts are all Modern, I turned over a great many, and saw none above five hundred years old: I

I was indeed told that the last Library-keeper was accused for having conveyed away many of their Manuscripts; and that four years ago being clapt in Prison for this by the Inquisitors, he to prevent further severities, poisoned himself. I went to the Convent of the *Servi*, but I found Father Paul was not in such consideration there, as he is else where. I asked for his Tomb, but they made no account of him, and seemed not to know where it was; it is true the person to whom I was recommended was not in *Venice*, so perhaps they refined too much in this matter: I had great discourse with some at *Venice* concerning the memorials out of which *F. Paul* drew his History, which are no doubt all preserved with great care in their Archives, and since the transactions of the Council of *Trent*, as they are of great importance, so they are become now much controverted by the different relations that *F. Paul* and Cardinal *Pallavicini* have given the World of that Matter; the only way to put an end to all disputes in matter of fact, is to print the Originals themselves: A Person of great credit at *Venice* promised to me to do his utmost, to get that proposition set on foot tho the great exactness that the Government there hath alwaies affected as to the matter of their Archives, is held so sacred that this made him apprehend they would not give way to any such search. The affinity of the matter brings into my mind a long conversation that I had with a person of great eminence at *Venice*,
that

that as he was long at *Constantinople*, so was learned far beyond what is to be met with in *Italy*, he told me he was at *Constantinople* when the inquiry into the doctrine of the *Greek Church* was set on foot, occasioned by the famous dispute between *Mr. Arnaud* and *Mr. Claude*, he being a zealous *Roman Catholick* was dealt with to assist in that business; but being a Man of great honour and sincerity he excused himself, and said he could not meddle in it: He hath a very low and bad opinion of the *Greeks*, and he told me that none of their Priests were more inveterate enemies to the Church of *Rome* than those that were bred up at *Rome*; for they to free themselves of the prejudices that their Countrymen are apt to conceive against them, because of their education among the *Latines* do affect to shew an opposition to the *Latin Church* beyond any other *Greeks*. He told me that he knew the ignorance and corruption of the *Greeks* was such, that as they did not know the doctrines of their own Church, so a very little money, or the hope of protection from any of the Ambassadors that come from the West, would prevail with them to sign any thing that could be desired of them: He added one thing, that tho he firmly believed *Transubstantiation* himself, he did not think they believed it; let them say what they please themselves, he took his measures of the doctrine of their Church, rather from what they did, than from what they said: For their doctrine not being changed now for a great many

were the true Indications of the doctrines received among them; whereas they were both ignorant of the tradition of their doctrine, and very apt to prevaricate when they saw advantages or protection set before them, therefore he concluded that since they did not adore the Sacrament after the consecration, that was an evident sign that they did not believe the corporeal presence, and was of a force well able to balance all their subscriptions: He told me he was often scandalized to see them open the bag in which the Sacrament was preserved, and shew it with no sort of respect no more then when they shewed any Manuscript, and he looked on adoration as such a necessary consequent of Transubstantiation, that he could not imagine that the latter was received in a Church that did not practice the former. To this I will add what an eminent Catholick of *Paris* told me, he said the Originals of those attestations were in too exact and too correct a stile to have been formed in *Greece*, he assured me they were penned at *Paris* by one that was a Master of the purity of the *Greek* Tongue. I do not name those persons because they are yet alive, and this might be a prejudice to them. One of the chief Ornaments of *Venice* was the famous young Woman that spake five Tongues well, of which the *Latin* and *Greek* were two; she passed Doctor of Physick at *Padua* according to the ordinary forms; but which was beyond all, she was a person of such extraordinary vertue and piety, that she is

spo-

spoken of as a Saint, she died some months before I came to *Venice* : she was of the noble Family of the *Cornara's*, tho not of the three chief Branches, which are Saint *Maurice*, Saint *Paul* and *Calle*, who are descended from the three Brothers of the renowned Queen of *Cyprus*, but the distinction of her Familie was *Piscopia*. Her extraordinary merit made all People unwilling to remember the blemish of her descent of the one side, for tho the *Cornara's* reckon themselves a size of Nobility beyond all the other Families of *Venice*, yet her Father having entertained a *Gondalier's* Daughter so long that he had some Children by her, at last for their sakes Married the Mother, and paid a considerable fine to save the forfeiture of Nobility, which his Children must have undergone, by reason of the meanness of the Mothers birth. The *Cornara's* carry it so high that many of the Daughters of that Family have made themselves Nuns, because they thought their own name was so Noble that they could not induce themselves to change it with any other, and when lately one of that Familie married the Heir of the *Sagredo*, which is also one of the ancientest Families, that was extream rich, and she had scarce any portion at all, for the *Cornara's* are now very low, some of their Friends came to wish them joy of so advantageous a match; but they very coldly rejected the complement, and bid the other go and wish the *Sagredo* joy, since they thought the advantage was wholly of their side.

There

There are of the truly ancient Noble Families of *Venice* four and twenty yet remaining, and even among these there are twelve that are thought superior to the rest in rank: since the first formation of their Senate they have created many Senators. In their Wars with *Genoa* they Conferred that honour on thirty Families: several of their Generals have had that honour given them as a reward of their service: They have also offered this honour to some Royal Families; for both the families of *Valois* and *Bourbon* were Nobles of *Venice*, and Henry the III. when he came through *Venice* from *Poland* to take possession of the Crown of *France*, went and sat among them, and drew his ballot as a Noble *Venetian*: many Popes have procured this honour for their Nephews: Only the *Barberini* would have the *Venetians* offer it to them without their asking it, and the *Venetians* could not give it without the others asked it, and so it stuck at this. But during the War of *Candy* Cardinal *Francis Barberin* gave twelve thousand Crowns a year towards the war, and the temper found for making them noble *Venetians* was, that the Queen Mother of *France* moved the Senate to grant it. All the Creations of Senators before the War of *Candy*, they were free; and the considerations were either great services, or the great dignity of those on whom they bestowed this Honour. Those new Families are divided into those that are called *Ducal* Families, and those that were called simply new Families.

Families, the reason of the former Designation is not rightly understood ; but one who knew all that related to that constitution particularly well gave me a good account of it. That which naturally occurs as the reason of it, is, that all those Families that are called *Ducal*, have had the Dukedom in their house. But as all the old Families have had the same honour, though they carry not the Title, so some of the new Families have had it, that yet are not called *Ducal*. Others say that those Families that have had Branches, who have been made Dukes, without their being first Procurators of S. Mark, that have been chosen to that honour, without out their pretending to it, are called *Ducal*. But the true account of this is, that from the year 1450. to the year 1620. for a hundred and seventy years there was a Combination made among those new Families to preserve the Dukedom still among them : For the old Families carrying it high, and excluding the new Families from the chief Honours, about sixteen of the new Families entered into engagements to exclude the ancient Nobles. It is true they made the Dukedom sometimes fall on some of the new Families, but they were not of this Association ; but this was indifferent to them, as long as the ancient Families were shut out, and that it appeared that they bore the chief sway in the Election. This Combination was a thing known to every People, tho the Inquisitors did all they could to break it, or at least to hide it, for

never met with it in any of their Authors: that this failed in the year 1620. when *Memo* was chosen Duke, who was descended of one of the ancient Nobility, which was so great a Mortification to the case *Ducal*, that one of them (*Venniero*) hanged himself, by the Rage to which that Disgrace drove him, yet a man came into the room in time before he was dead, and cut him down, and he lived long after that in a better mind. Since that time one of the *Bembo's*, two of the *Cornarini's*, and one of the *Contrarini's*, and the present Prince of the *Justiniani*, the first of that family that hath had that honour, have been *Wakes*, who are all of the ancient Families: so that this Faction is now so intirely buried, that it is not generally known, even in *Venice* itself, that it was ever amongst them: and thus some and other Accidents bring about happy changes, which no Care nor Industry could produce: For that which all the Indeavours of the *Inquisitors* could not compass, was brought about of it self. It is true the Factions in *Venice* are tho violent enough in the persons of those who manage them, yet are not derived from them as an Inheritance to their posterity as it was among the *Florentines*; who tho they esteem themselves as a size of men much above the *Venetians*, whom they despise as a phlegmatick and dull race of People, yet shewed how little they understood with all their vivacity, to conduct their State, since by their all domestick Heats they lost their Liberty, which the *Venetians* have had the Wisdom still to preserve

serve. This Faction of the *Casa Ducal* perhaps willing to let the matter fall, for lost more than they gat by it; for the *ancient Families* in revenge set themselves against them, and excluded them from all the advantageous imployments of the State: the others being only united in that point relating to the Dukedome, the *ancient Families* let them carry it, but in all Competitions they set up always such *Contradictors* against the pretenders that were of *Ducal Families*, that were, much more esteemed than these were, so that they shut them out of all the best Offices of the Republick. Such a Faction as this was, if it had been still kept up, might in conclusion have proved fatal to their liberty. It is indeed a wonder to see the dignity of the Duke so much courted, he is only a prisoner of state tied up to *strict rules*, so severely restrained and shut up that he were in an apartment of the Palace of St. Peter that it is not strange to see some of the *great Families*, in particular the *Cornara's* decline. All the Family, if ever so numerous, must retire out of the Senate, when a Duke is called out of it, only one that is next to him of *seniority* sits still, but without a Vote: And the real Priviledge that the Duke hath, is that he can of himself, without communicating to the *Savii*, propose matters, either to the Council of ten, to the Senate, or to the great Council; whereas all other propositions must be first offered to the *Savii*, examined by them, who have a sort of

Power to reject what they dislike, and
 they cannot hinder the Duke to make a
 proposition, yet they can mortifie him when
 hath made it: they can hinder it to be
 ed, and after it is voted they can suspend
 execution of it till it is examined over
 in: And a Duke that is of an active Spirit
 it resolve to indure many of these afflictions,
 it is certain that the *Savii* do sometimes
 to shew the greatness of their Autho-
 , and exercise a sort of Tyranny in the
 ecting of propositions when they intend to
 mble those that make them. Yet the
 rarest part of the best Families court this
 honour of Dukedom extreamly; when *Sagredo*
 upon the point of being chosen Duke,
 re was so violent an outcry against it over
 Venice, because of the disgrace, that they
 ought would come on the Republick, if
 had a Prince whose nose had miscarried
 some unfortunate disorders, the Se-
 e complied so far with this aversion,
 the people testified, that tho the Inquisi-
 took care to hang or drown many of
 chief of the mutineers, yet they let the
 gn for *Sagredo* fall: Upon which he was
 much disgusted that he retired to a house
 had in the Terra firma, and never appeared
 re at Venice: During which time of his
 rement, he writ two Books, the one *Me-*
 rs *Ottomaniche* which is Printed, and he is
 counted the best of all their modern Au-
 rs: The other was *Memoires* of the
 vernment, and *History of Venice*, which
 hath

hath never been Printed ; and some say it is sincere, and too particular, so that it is thought it will be reserved among their Archbishops. It hath been a sort of maxime now for some time not to chuse a married man to be Duke for the Coronation of a Dutchess goes high and hath cost above a hundred thousand Ducats. Some of the ancient Families have affected the Title of Prince, and have called their Branches Princes of the Blood, though the *Cornara's* have done this more than any other, yet others upon the account of some Principalities, that their Ancestors had in the Islands of the *Archipelago*, have affected those vain Titles: But the Legislators have long ago obliged them, to forsake all those high Titles, and such of them that boast too much of their Blood, find the disadvantage which that brings on them very sensibly, whensoever they pretend to any great employments, they find themselves always excluded. When an Election of Ambassador was proposed, or of any of the chief Officers it was wont to be made in those terms, the Council must chuse one of its principal Members for such an Employment: But because this looked like a term of distinction among the Nobility, they changed it about and twenty years ago; and instead of Principal, they use now the term Honourable, which comprehends the whole body of their Nobility, without any distinction. It is as of *office* in the Church, as well as in the State, that the Head of the Body hath a great Toga

particular honours done him, whereas in
mean while this is a meer Pageantry, and
under these big words there is lodged only a
little Shadow of Authority; for their Bishop has
the glorious Title of *Patriarch*, as well as the
like is called their Prince, and his serenity,
hath his name stamp'd upon their Coin, so
the *Patriarch* with all this high Title hath really
Authority: For not only Saint *Mark's*
Church is intirely exempted from his jurisdic-
tion, and is immediately subject to the Duke,
but his Authority is in all other things so subject
to the Senate, and so regulated by them that
hath no more power then they are pleased
to allow him: so that the Senate is as really
the supream Governour over all persons, and
all causes as the Kings of *England* have pre-
tended to be in their own Dominions since the
Reformation: But besides all this the Clergy
at *Venice* have a very extraordinary sort of
exemption, and are a sort of a Body like a
Confraternity independent of the Bishop: The
Officers are chosen by the Inhabitants of every
Parish, and this makes that no Noble *Vene-*
rable is suffered to pretend to any Curacy, for
they think it below that dignity to suffer one
of their Body to engage in a Competition with
one of a lower Order, and to run the hazard of
being rejected. I was told the manner of those
Elections was the most scandalous thing possi-
ble, for the several Candidates appear on the
day of Election, and set out their own Merits,
and defame the other pretenders in the foulest
language, and in the most scurrilous manner
imaginable

imaginable; the secrets of all their Lives are published in most reproachful Terms, and nothing is so abject and ridiculous that is put in practice on those occasions: There is sort of an Association among the Curates judging of their common concerns, and of the Laity of the several Parishes assist those Courts, so that here is a real Presbytery. The great Libertinage that is so undecorated practised by most sorts of people at Venice extends it self to the Clergy to such a degree that the ignorance and Vice seem the only delible Characters that they carry generally of all Italy, yet those appear here in a much more conspicuous manner then elsewhere, and in these popular Elections all comes out. Nuns of Venice have been under much scandal for a great while, there are some Monasteries that are as famous for their strictness and exactness to their Rules as others are for the Liberty they take: chiefly those of Saint Zachary and Saint Laurence, where none but Nobles and Venetians are admitted, and where it is not much as pretended that they have retired to devotion; but it is owned to be done merely that they might not be too great a charge to their Family: They are not veiled, their Neck and Breast is bare, and they receive much Company: but that which I saw was in a publick Room, in which there were many Grills for several Parlors, so that the Conversation was very confused, for there being a different Company at every Grill, and the Italians speak generally very loud, the noise of so many

Talkers is very disagreeable. The Nuns Talk much and very ungracefully, and allow themselves a Liberty in rallying that other places could not bear. About four years ago the Patriark intended to bring in a reform into those Houses, but the Nuns of *St. Lawrence* with whom he began, told him plainly they were Noble *Venetians* who had chosen that way of Life as more convenient for them, but they would not subject themselves to his Regulations, yet he came and would shut up their House, so they went to set fire to it; upon which the Senate interposed and ordered the Patriark to desist. There is no Christian State in the World, that hath expressed a Jealousie of Church-mens getting into the publick Councils so much as the *Venetians*, for as a Noble *Venetian* that goes into Orders, looses thereby his right of going to Vote in the great Council, so when any of them are promoted to be Cardinals, the whole Kindred and Family must during their Lives withdraw from the great Council, and are also incapable of all employments: And by a Clause which they added when they received the Inquisition, which seemed of no great consequence, they have made it to become a Court absolutely subject to them; for it being provided that the Inquisitors should do nothing but in the Presence of such as should be Deputed by the Senate to be the Witnesses of their Proceedings, those Deputies either will not come but

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when they think fit, or will not stay longer then they are pleased with their proceedings; so that either their absence or their withdrawing dissolves the Court: for a Citation cannot be made, a witness cannot be examined, nor the least point of form carried on if the Deputies of the Senate are not present: and thus it is, that tho there is a Court of Inquisition at *Venice*, yet there is scarce any Person brought into trouble by it, and there are many of the Protestant Religion that live there without any trouble: and tho there is a Congregation of them there that hath their Exercises of Religion very regularly, yet the Senate gives them no trouble. It is true the Hosty is not being carried about in Procession, but secretly by the Priests to the Sick, make that this uneasie Discrimination of Protestant and Papist doth not offer it self here as in other places, for the straitness of the Streets, and the Channels through which one must go almost every foot, makes that this could not be done in *Venice* as it is elsewhere, and from *Venice* this rule is carried over their whole Territory tho the like reason doth not hold in the *Terra Firma*. The *Venetians* are generally ignorant of the matters of Religion to a scandal and they are as unconcerned in them, as they are Strangers to them, so that all that vast Pomp in their Ceremonies and wealth in their Churches is affected rather as a point of magnificence, or a matter of Emulation among Families, then that Superstition hath here such a power over the Spirits of the people as it hath

hath elsewhere : for the Atheism that is received by many here, is the dullest and coarsest thing that can be imagined. The young Nobility are so generally corrupted in their Morals, and so given up to a most supine ignorance of all sort of Knowledge, that a man cannot easily imagine to what a height this is grown; and for Military Courage there is scarce so much as the Ambition of being thought brave, remaining among the greater part of them. It seemed to me a strange thing to see the *Broglio* so full of graceful young Senators and Nobles, when there was so glorious a War on foot with the *Turks*, but instead of being heated in point of Honour to hazard their Lives, they rather think it an extravagant piece of Folly for them to go and hazard it when a little Money can hire Strangers that do it on such easie Terms, and thus their Arms are in the hands of Strangers, while they stay at home managing their Intrigues in the *Broglio*, and dissolving their Spirits among their *Courtizans*. And the Reputation of their Service is of late years so much sunk that it is very strange to see so many come to a Service so descryed, where there is so little care had of the Souldiers, and so little regard had to the Officers: The Arrears are so slowly paid; and the rewards are so scanty distributed, that if they do not change their maxims they may come to feel this very sensibly; for as their Subjects are not acquainted with Warlike Matters, so their Nobility have no sort of Ambition that way, and Strangers a e

extreamly disgusted. It is chiefly to the conjunction of Affairs that they owe their safety, for the feebleness of all their Neighbours, the *Turk*, the Emperour, the King of *Spain*, the Pope, and the Duke of *Mantua*, preserves them from the apprehension of an Invasion, and the Quarrels, and Degeneracy of their Subjects, save them from the fears of a Revolt, but a formidable Neighbour would put them hard to it. One great occasion of the Degeneracy of the *Italians*, and in particular of the *Venetian* Nobility, is a Maxim that hath been taken up for some considerable time, that for the preservation of their Families, it is fit that only one of a Family should marry, to which I will not add that it is generally believed that the Wife is in common to the whole Family: By this means the younger Brothers that have appointments for Life, and that have no Families that come from them, are not stirred up by any Ambition to signalize themselves or to make Families, and so they give way to all the Laziness of Luxury, and are quite enervated by it. Whereas the best Services done in other States flows from the necessities as well as the Aspirings of younger Brothers or their Families, whose Blood qualifies them to pretend, as well as their Pride and necessities push them on, to acquire first a Reputation; and then a fortune: But all this is a Mystery to the *Venetians*, who apprehend so much from the active Spirits of a necessitous Nobility, that to lay those to sleep, they encourage them in all those things that
may

may blunt and depress their minds, and Youth naturally hates Letters as much as it loves Pleasure, when it is so far from being restrained, that it is rather pushed on to all the Licentiousness of unlimited disorders.

Yet I must add one thing, that tho *Venice*, is the place in the whole World where Pleasure is most studied, and where the Youth have both the greatest Wealth, and the most leisure to pursue it: yet it is the place that I ever saw where true and innocent Pleasure is the least understood, in which I will make a little Digression that perhaps will not be unpleasant, As for the Pleasures of Friendship or Marriage they are Strangers to them, for the horrible distrust, in which they all live, of one another, makes that it is very rare to find a Friend in *Italy*, but most of all in *Venice*: and tho we have been told of several Stories of celebrated Friendships there, yet these are now very rare. As for their Wives they are bred to so much ignorance, they converse so little, that they know nothing but the dull superstition on Holy-days in which they stay in the Churches as long they can, and so prolong the little Liberty they have of going abroad on those days as Children do their hours of Play: they are not employed in their Domestick Affairs, and generally they understand no sort of Work, so that I was told that they were the insipidest Creatures imaginable: they are perhaps as vicious as in other places, but it is among them down-

right lewdness, for they are drawn into it by the Intanglements of Amour that inveigle and lead many Persons much farther then they imagined or intended at first, but in them the first step without any preamble or preparative is down-right beastliness. And an *Italian* that knew the World well, said upon this matter a very lively thing to me, he said their Jealousie made them restrain their Daughters, and their Wives so much, that they could have none of those Domestick entertainments of Wit, Conversation, and Friendship, that the *French* or *English* have at home: It is true those he said hazard a little the Honour of their Families by that Liberty but the *Italians* by their excessive Caution made that they had none of the true Delights, of a married State; and notwithstanding all their uneasie Jealousie, they were still in danger of a contraband Nobility, therefore he thought they would do much better to hazard a little when it would produce a certain satisfaction, then to watch so anxiously, and thereby have an insipid Companion instead of a lively Friend, tho she might perhaps have some ill moments. As for their Houses they have nothing convenient at *Venice*, for the Architecture is almost all the same, one Stair-case, a Hall that runs along the body of the House, and Chambers on both hands, but there are no apartments, no Closets or Back-stairs; so that in Houses that are of an excessive wealth, they have yet no sort of convenience; Their Bedsteads are of Iron, because of the Vermin that

that their moisture produces, the bottoms are of boards, upon which they lay so many Quilts that it is a huge step to get up to them, their great Chairs are all upright without a flop in the Back, hard in the bottom, and the Wood of the Arms is not covered : they mix water with their Wine in their Hogsheads, so that for above half the year the Wine is either dead or sower, they do not leaven their Bread, so that it is extream heavy, and the Oven is too much heated, so that the Crum is as Dough, when the Crust is as hard as a stone, in all Inns they boyl Meat first before it is Roasted, and thus as indeed they make it tender, so it is quite tasteless, and insipid : And as for their Land-carriage all *Lombardy* over it is extream inconvenient, for their Coaches are fastned to the pearch, which makes them as uneasy as a Cart : It is true they begin to have at *Rome*, and *Naples*, Coaches that are fastned to a sort of double perch, that runs along the bottom of the Coach of both sides, which are so thin that they ply to the motion of the Coach, and are extream easie, but those are not known in *Lombardy*, and besides this their Caleshes are open, so that one is exposed to the Sun, and dust in Summer, and to the weather in Winter : But tho they are covered as ours are, on the other side of the *Appenins*, yet I saw none that were covered in *Lombardy* : and thus by an Enumeration of many of the innocent pleasures, and conveniencies of Life, it appears that the *Venetians* pursue so violently forbidden Pleasures, that they know not how to find

out that which is allowable. Their constant Practises in the *Broglia* is their chief business, where those that are necessitous are pursuing for employments of advantage, and those that are full of Wealth take a sort of Pleasure in crossing their Pretensions, and in imbroiling matters. The walk in which the Nobility tread is left to them, for no others dare walk among them, and they change the side of the Square of *St. Mark* as the Sun, and the Weather direct them. Perhaps a derivation that Mr. *Pattin* gave me of *Broglia* from the Greek *Peribolaion*, a little corrupted is not forced, and since they make all their Parties, and manage all their Intrigues in those Walks, I am apt to think that Broils, Brovillons and Imbroilments are all deriv'd from the Agitations that are managed in those Walks.

As for the last created Nobility of *Venice*, I came to know some particulars that I have not yet seen in any Books, which I suppose will not be unacceptable to you. It is certain, that if the *Venetians* could have foreseen at the beginning of the War of *Candy*, the vast expence in which the length of it engaged them, they would have abandoned the Isle, rather than have wasted their Treasure, and debased their Nobility. This last was extream sensible to them; for as the Dignity of the rank they hold is so much the more eminent as is restrained to a small number, so all the best employments and Honours of the State belonging to this Body, the admitting such a number into it, as must rise out of seventy

eight

eight Families, was in effect the sharing their inheritance among so many adopted Brothers. This had been less infamous if they Communicated that Honour only to the ancient Citizens of *Venice*, or to the Nobility of those States that they have subdued in the *Terra firma*; for as there are many Citizens who are as ancient as the Nobility, only their Ancestors not hapning to be of that Council that assumed the Government about four hundred years ago, they have not been raised to that Honour, so there had been no infamy in creating some of them to be of the Nobility. It had been also brought under consultation long ago, upon the reduction of those States in the *Terra firma*, whether it was not advisable according to the maxims of the ancient *Romans* to communicate that dignity to some of their chief Families, as being the surest way to give some contentment to those States, it being also a real as well as a cheap security, when the chief Families in those Cities, were admitted to a share in all the Honours of the Republick. It is true some of the Nobility of those States thought they had Honour enough by their birth, and so *Zambara* of *Brescia* refused to accept an Honour from those that had robbed his Country of its liberty, yet his posterity are now of another mind, for they came and bought in this last sale of honour that which was freely offered to their Ancestor, and was rejected by him. When the Senate found it self extreemly pressed for mony during the

War it was at first proposed that some Families, to the number of five, might be enobled; they offering sixty thousand Ducats if they were *Venetians*, and seventy thousand if they were Strangers: There was but one Person that opposed this in the Senate so it being passed there, was presented to the great Council, and there it was like to have passed without any difficulty, but one Person opposed it with so much Vigour that though the Duke desired him to give over his opposition, since the necessities of the War required a great supply, yet he persisted still; and tho one of the *Savii* set forth with tears the extremities to which the State was reduced, he still insisted and fell upon one conceit that turned the whole Council, he said they were not sure if five Persons could be found that would purchase that Honour at such a rate, and then it would be a vast disgrace, to expose the offer of Nobility first to Sale, and then to the affront of finding no Buyers when it was offered to be sold, and by this means he put by the resolution for that time: But then another method was taking that was more Honourable, and was of a more extended consequence. *Labia* was the first that presented a Petition to the great Council, setting forth his Merits towards the Republick, and desiring that he might be thought partly to offer a hundred thousand Ducats towards the service of the State: this was understood to be the asking to be made noble at that price. *Desio* said, he thought every man might be well judg-

ed worthy to offer such an assistance to the Publick, and that such as brought that supply might expect a suitable acknowledgment from the Senate, who might afterwards of their own accord bestow that Honour on those that expressed so much Zeal for the Publick: and this would in some sort maintain that Degree which would be too much debased if it were thus bought and sold: but it seems the purchasers had no mind to part with their Money, and to leave the reward to the gratitude of the Council, so the Petition was granted in plain Terms: and the Nobility so acquired was not only to descend to the Children of him this was enobled, but to his Brothers and the whole Family to such a Degree. After *Labbia* a great many more came with the like Petitions, and it was not unpleasant to see in what Terms Merchants, that came to buy this Honour set forth their Merits, which were that they had taken care to furnish the Republick with such things as were necessary for its preservation. There was a sort of a *Triumvirat* formed of a *Jew*, a *Greek*, and an *Italian*, who were the Brokers, and found out the Merchants: and at last brought down the price from a hundred thousand to sixty thousand Ducats, and no other qualifications were required if they had Money enough: For when *Correge* said to the Duke that he was afraid to ask that Honour for want of Merit, the Duke asked him if he had a hundred thousand Ducats, and when the other answered the sum was ready, the Duke told him that was a great Merit.

At last seven or eight purchased this Honour to the great regret of *Labia*: who said that if he had imagined that so many would have followed him in that demand, he would have bid so high for it that it should have been out of their power to have done it. It is true, many of the Purchasers were Ancient and Noble Families, but many others were not only Merchants, but were of the lowest sort of them: who as they had enriched themselves by Trade, did then impoverish themselves by the acquisition of an Honour that as it obliged them to give over their Trade, and put them in a higher way of living, so it hath not brought them yet in any advantage to Ballance that loss: for they are so much despised, that they are generally excluded when they compete with the ancient Nobility, tho this is done with that discretion, that the old Families do not declare always against the new, for that would throw the new into a Faction against them, which might be a great prejudice to them, for the new are much more numerous than the old. Another great prejudice that the Republick feel by this great promotion, is that the chief Families of the Citizens of *Venice*, who had been long practised in the Affairs of State, and out of whom the Embassadors, the Secretaries of State and the Chancellour that is the head of the Citizens, as well as the Duke is the head of the Nobility, are to be chosen, having purchased the chief Honour of the State there is not now a sufficient number of capable Citizens left for serving the State in those employments; but this defect will be redrest with the help of a little time.

But if this increase of the Nobility hath lessened the dignity of the ancient Families, there is a regulation made in this age that still preserves a considerable distinction of Authority in their hands. Crimes against the State, when committed by any of the Nobility, were alwaies judged by the Inquisitors, and the Council of ten, but all other Crimes were judged by the Council of forty. But in the year 1624 one of the Nobles was accused of *Peculatus* Committed in one of their Governments, and the *Avogadore* in the pleading as he set forth his Crime, called him a Rogue and a Robber: yet tho his Crimes were manifest, there being but six and twenty Judges present twelve only Condemned him, and fourteen Acquitted him, this gave great offence, for tho he was acquitted by his Judges, his Crimes were evident, so that his fame could not be restored: for the depositions of the Witnesses, and the *Avogadores* (or the Attorney Generals) charge were heard by the people; so it was proposed to make a difference between the Nobility and the other Subjects; and since all Trials before the forty were publick, and the Trials before the ten were in secret, it seemed fit to remit the Nobility to be tried by the ten: Some foresaw that this would tend to a Tyranny, and raise the dignity of the ancient Families, of whom the Council of ten is alwaies composed, too high: therefore they opposed it upon this ground, that since the Council of forty sent out many orders to the Governors, it would very much lessen their Authority, if

if they were not to be the Judges of those who
 were obliged to receive their Orders: but to
 qualifie this Opposition, a Provifo was made
 that reserved to the Council of forty, a power
 to judge of the Obedience that was given to
 their Orders, but all other Accufations of the
 Nobility were remitted to the Council of Ten
 and the Body of the Nobility were fo pleased
 with this diftinction that was put between them
 and the other Subjects, that they did not fee
 that this did really enslave them fo much the
 more, and brought them under more danger
 fince those who judge in fecret have a free
 fcope to their Paffions, than those whose Proceed-
 ings are publick, and fo are in effect judged
 by the Publick, which is often a very effectual
 Reftraint upon the Judges themselves. But
 the Council of Ten being generally in the
 Hands of the Great Families: whereas those of
 all sorts are of the Council of Forty, which
 was the chief Judicatory of the State, and
 much antienter than that of Ten: it had been
 much more wifely done of them to have been
 ftill judged by the Forty: And if they had
 thought it for their Honour, to have a diffe-
 rence made in the way of judging the Nob-
 lity, and the other Subjects, it had been more
 for their Security to have brought their Trials
 to this, that whereas the Forty Judge all other
 Offenders with open Doors, the Nobility fhould
 be Judged the Doors being fhut; which is
 thing they very much defire now, but without
 any hope of ever obtaining it: For the
 Power of Judging the Nobility, is now com-
 mitted

considered as the Right of the Ten ; and if a
 any Man would go about to change it, the
 Inquisitors would be perhaps very quick with
 him as a mover of Sedition ; and be, in that
 case, both Judge, and Party ; Yet the In-
 quisitors, being apprehensive of the distaste that
 this might breed in the Body of the No-
 bility, have made a sort of Regulation, tho'
 it doth not amount to much ; which is that
 the Nobility shall be Judged before the
 Council of Ten for atrocious Cases, such as
 matters of State, the robbing the Publick,
 and other enormous Crimes ; but that for all
 other matters they are to be Judged by the
 Forty : yet the Council of Ten draws all cases
 before them, and none dare dispute with
 them.

But this leads me to say a little to you of
 that part of this Constitution, which is so
 much censured by Strangers : but is really
 both the greatest glory, and the chief secu-
 rity of this Republick, which is the unlimited
 power of the Inquisitors, that extends not
 only to the Chief of the Nobility, but to the
 Duke himself, who is so subject to them,
 that they may not only give him severe re-
 primands, but search his Papers, make his
 Process, and in conclusion put him to death
 without being bound to give an account of
 their proceedings, except to the Council of
 Ten. This is the dread not only of all the
 Subjects, but of the whole Nobility, and of
 all that bear Office in the Republick, and
 makes the greatest among them tremble, and

so obligeth them to an exact conduct. But tho it is not to be denied that upon some occasions they may have been a little too sudden, particularly in the known story of *Riccarini*, yet such unjustifiable severities have occurred so seldom, that as the wisdom of this body in making, and preserving such an institution, cannot be enough admired, so the dextrous conduct of those who manage this vast trust so as not to force the body to take it out of their hands, is likewise highly to be wondered at. In short the insolence, the factions, the revenges, the necessities and ambition that must needs possess a great many members of so vast a body as is the Nobility of *Venice*, must have thrown them often into many fatal convulsions, if it were not for the dread in which they all stand of this Court which hath so many spies abroad, chiefly among the *Gondaliers*, who cannot fail to discover all the secret commerce of *Venice*: besides the secret advices that are thrown in so many of these Lyons mouths that are in several places of *St. Mark's Palace*, within which there are boxes that are under the keys of the Inquisitors, so that it is scarce possible for a man to be long in any design against the State, and not be discovered by them. And when they find any in fault, they are inexorable, and so quick as well as severe in the Justice, that the very fear of this is effectual a restraint, that perhaps the long preservation of *Venice*, and of its liberty is owing to this single piece of their constitution.

tion: and the Inquisitors are persons ge-
 nerally so distinguished for their merit who
 must be all of different Families; and their
 Authority lasts so short a while that the advan-
 tages of this vast Authority that is lodged with
 them are constant and visible; whereas the
 unhappy instances of their being imposed on,
 and carrying their suspicions too far, are so
 frequent, that when ever the Nobility grows
 weary of this yoke, and throws it off, one
 may reckon the Glory and Prosperity of Ve-
 nice at an end. It was terribly attackt not
 long ago by *Cornaro*, when *Ferom Cornaro*
 was put to death for his correspondence with
 them; he was not near a kin to the great
 Family of that name, yet the Family
 thought their Honour was so much toucht
 when one of its remotest Branches was con-
 demned of Treason, that they offered a
 hundred thousand Crowns to have saved him,
 and by consequence to have preserved the
 Family from that infamy; but tho this was
 not accepted, for he suffered as he well de-
 served, yet it was so visible that none of
 the Family were concerned in his Crimes,
 that it did not at all turn to his prejudice. But
 on the first occasion that offered it self after
 that, to quarrel with proceedings of the
 Inquisitors, they laid hold on it, and aggra-
 vated the matter extreamly, and moved for the
 maintaining of their Authority, but the Great
 Council was wiser then to touch so sacred a
 part of the Government, so they retain their
 power very intire, but they manage it with
 all

all possible caution ; A Foreigner that hath been many years in their Service told me that the Stories with which Strangers were frightened at the Arbitrary power that was rested in the Inquisitors were slight things, in comparison of the advantages that they found from it : and after eleven years spent in their Service, he said, he never was so much as once sent for to receive a reprimend from them. And the Nobility, that have any Commerce with Strangers, confess it sincerely to the Inquisitors, they are in no danger by it ; but if they conceal it, or any main Circumstances of their Process will be seen, dispatched. These are the most remarkable things that I could pick up, during my stay at *Venice*. I have avoided to say any thing relating to their several Councils, Officers, and Judicatories, to the other parts of their Government, which are to be found in all Books ; and the formal which they give their Votes by ballot are so well known, that it were an abusing of your time to enlarge my self concerning them ; nor was I sufficiently informed concerning the particulars of the Sale of the Nobility that now is in foot since this last War with the *Turks*, which hath made them willing to take up once again this easie way of raising of Money : Nor could I give credit to that which a Person of great Eminence there assured me, that there was a Prisoner general in *Venice*, that had a Salary, and was imployed by the Inquisitors to dispatch those against whom a publick proceeding would make too great a noise ; this I could not

believe, tho' my Author protested that
 Brother of one that was solicited to accept
 the imployment, discovered it to him. There
 is no place in the World where strangers live
 with more freedom, and I was amazed to see
 the exactness among the searchers of the
 post-house: for though we had a Multitude
 of Trunks, and Portmangles, yet none of-
 fered to ask us, either coming or going, what
 we were, or what we carried with us. But the
 most and Noblest entertainment that *Venice*
 afforded while I was there, was the company
 of Mr. *de la Hye* the *French* Ambassador, who
 hath spent his whole life in publick Em-
 bassies, so he hath acquired so great a
 knowledge of the World, with so true a
 judgment, and so obliging a civility, that
 they may well pass for a pattern; and it is no
 wonder to see him still engaged in a constant
 succession of publick imployments; and his
 way is so wonderful a person, that I pay
 him both, but a very small part of what
 we owe them in this acknowledgment, which
 obliges my self bound to make of their ex-
 traordinary civilities to me: and indeed
 without the advantage of such a rendezvous
 I had there, a fortnights stay at *Venice*
 had been a very tedious matter: From *Ve-*
nice we went again to *Padua*; From thence
 to *Venigo*, which is but a small Town,
 so to the *Po*, which divides the Ter-
 ritory of the Republick, from the *Fer-*
rocchio, which is now the Popes Country, and
 one sees what a difference a good and a
 bad

bad Government makes in a Country; say, tho the soil, is the same on both sides of the River, and the *Ferrarese* was once one of the beautifullest spots of all *Italy*, as *Ferrara* was one of its best Towns, while they had Princes of their own who for a course of some Ages were Princes of such Eminent vertue, and of so magnificent a Nobleness that they were really the Fathers of their Country, nothing could be imagined more changed than all this is now. The soil is abandoned, and uncultivated, were there hands enough so much as to sow their grass, which we saw withering in the Meadows to our no small wonder. We were amazed to see so rich a soil thus forsaken of its Inhabitants, and much more when we passed through that vast Town, which by its end shews what it was about an age ago, and is now so much deserted that there are whole sides of streets without Inhabitants, and the poverty of the place appears signally in the Churches which are mean and poorly adorned, for the superstition of *Italy* is so ravenous, and makes such a progress in this Age, that one may justly take the measures of the Wealth of any part from the Churches. The superstition or poverty of this Age is so much beyond that of the past tho the contrary to this is commonly believed that all the vast buildings of great Churches or rich Convents, and the surprizing wealth that appears in them on Festival days are the donatives of the present Age; so that it is a vulgar error that some have taken up, that fancy that superstition is at a stand, if not

say, unless it be acknowledged that the
 the Priest's hath opened to them a new
 method to support their riches, when the old
 of Purgatory, and Indulgences were be-
 come less effectual in an Age of more know-
 ledge, and better enlightned, and that is to
 to urge men to an emulation and a vanity in in-
 riching their Churches, as much as other
 have in the enriching their Palaces, so
 as they have a pleasure as well as a vanity
 in being so much dead wealth in their houses,
 they have translated the same humour to their
 Churches: and the vanity of the present Age
 believes little or nothing of those contri-
 butions, of Purgatory, or the like, produceth
 perhaps if not greater effects in the building
 and enriching their Churches, and so carries
 is an expence and prodigality from the supersti-
 tion of the former Ages that believed every
 thing. But to return to *Ferrare*. I could not
 ask all I saw how it came that so rich a soil
 for so strangely abandoned, some said the Air
 had become so unhealthy, that those who stay
 here were very short-lived; but it is well known
 that fourscore years ago it was well peopled;
 or the ill Air is occasioned by the want of In-
 habitants, for there not being people to drain
 the ground and to keep the Ditches clean, this
 makes that there is a great deal of water lies
 on the ground and rots, which infects the Air
 in the same manner as is observed in that vast
 rich but uninhabited Champaign of *Rome*,
 so, that the ill Air is the effect rather than the
 cause of the dispeopling of the Popes Domi-
 nions

mions. The true cause is the severity of Government, and the heavy Taxes, and frequent Confiscations by which the Nephews of several Popes, as they have devoured of the Families of *Ferrara*, so they have destroyed many more. And this appears more sensibly by the different state as well as the constitution of *Bologna*, which is full of people that abound in wealth, and as the soil is extremely rich, so it is cultivated with all care. For *Bologna* delivered it self to Popedom upon a capitulation, by which there are many priviledges reserved to it: Criminals are only punished in the persons of those who commit them, but there are no confiscations of Estates; and tho the Authority in criminal matters belongs to the Pope and is managed by a Legate and his Officers yet the Civil Government, the Magistracy and the power of Judicature in Civil matters is intirely in the hands of the State: by this regulation it is that as the riches of *Bologna* amazes a stranger, it neither boasts of a Navigable River, by which it is not capable of much Trade, nor being the center of Sovereignty where a Court is kept; so the Taxes that the Popes fetch from thence are considerable, that he draws much more from this place of liberty, then from those where his Authority is unlimited and absolute: but they are by those means almost quite diminished: for the greatness of a Prince or State rising from the numbers of the Subjects, the maxims that retain the Subjects, and

draw strangers to come among them, are certainly the truest maxims for a advancing the greatness of the Master. And I could not but with much scorn observe the folly of some Frenchmen, who made use of this argument to shew the greatness of their Nation, that they found many French-men in all places to which one could come, whereas there were no English nor Dutch, no Switzers, and very few Germans; but this is just contrary to the right consequence that ought to be drawn from this observation. It is certain that few leave their Country, and go to settle elsewhere, if they are not pressed with so much uneasiness at home that they cannot well live among their friends and kindred, that a mild Government drives out no men: whereas it is the sure mark of a severe Government that weakens it self, when many of the Subjects find it so hard to subsist at home, that they are forced to seek that abroad, which they would much rather do in their own Country, if impositions, and other severities did not force them to change their habitations.

But to return to the wealth of *Bologna*, it appears in every corner of the Town, and all round it: tho its situation is not very favorable, for it lies at the foot of the *Apennines* on the North side, and is extream cold in Winter. The houses are built as at *Padua* and *Bern*, so that one walks all the Town either covered under *Piazzas*; but the walks there are both higher and larger than any where else,

else: there are many Noble Palaces all over the
 the Town, and the Churches and Convents
 are incredibly rich: within the Town the
 richest, are the Dominicans, which is the
 chief house of the Order, where their Founders
 body is laid in one of the best Churches
 of Italy: and next to them are the Franciscans,
 the Servites, the Jesuites, and the Regular
 Canons Regular of St. Salvator. In the last
 there is a scrawl of the Hebrew Bible, which
 tho it is not the tenth part of the Bible, they
 fancy to be the whole Bible: and the Jews
 were made believe by some Jew, that he had
 no doubt sold it at a high rate, that it was
 written by Exrah's own hand, and this has
 past long for current: but the Manuscript
 is only a fine Copy like those that the Jews
 in their Synagogues, that may be perhaps three
 or four hundred years old: that part of it
 which I cast my eye was the Book of Esther
 so by the bulk of the scrawl, I judged it
 be the Collection of those small books of the
 Old Testament that the Jews set after the
 Law; but those of the house fancy they had
 a great treasure in it, and perhaps such Jews
 have seen it are willing to laugh at their igno-
 rance, and to suffer them to go on in their
 error. The chief Church in the Town is St.
 Petrones, and there one sees the curious
 exact Meridional-line, which that rare Astronomer
 Cassini laid along a great part of the pavement
 in a brass Circle: it marks the true
 point of mid-day from June to January, and
 one of the best performances that perhaps

World ever saw. In the great Square before the Church, on the one side of which is the Legate's Palace, among other Statues one surprized me much, it was Pope *Joan's*, which is so named by the People of the Town, it is true the Learned men say it is the Statue of Pope *Nicolas* the IV. who had indeed a youthfully and womanish Face, But as I looked at this Statue very attentively, through a little Prospect that I carried with me, it appeared plainly to have the Face of a young Woman, and was very unlike that of Pope *Nicolas* the IV. which is in *St. Maria Magiore* at *Rome*: For the Statue of that Pope, though it hath no Beard, yet hath an age in it which is very much different from the Statue at *Bologna*. I do not build any thing on this Statue, for I do not believe that Story at all, and myself saw in *England* a Manuscript of *Marcellinus Polonus*, who is one of the ancient Authors of this Matter, which did not seem to be written long after the Author's time, but that this Story is not in the Text, but is added on the Margin by another hand.

On the Hill above *Bologna*, stands the Convent of *St. Michael* in *Bosco*, which is in a most charming Situation and Prospect, and is one of the best Monasteries in Italy: it hath many Courts, and one that is cloistered, and is Octangular: which is so nobly painted in Fresco, that it is great pity to see such work exposed to the Air: All was retouched by the famous *Guido Reni*, yet it is now again

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much

much decayed: The Dormitory is very Magnificent: the Chappel is little, but very fine, and the Stalls are richly carved, On the other side of *Bologna*, in the Bottom, the *Carthusians* have also a very rich Monastery: Four Miles from *Bologna*, there is a *Madona* of *St. Luke*, and because many go thither with great Devotion, there is a Portico, a Building which is already carried on almost half way; it is walled towards the North, but stands on Pillars to the South, and is about twelve foot broad, and fifteen foot high, which is carried on very vigorously; for in eight or ten years the half is built, so that in a little time the whole will be very probably finished, and this may prove the beginning of many such like Portico's in *Italy*; for things of this kind were only a beginning, and when they are once on foot, they do quickly spread themselves in the Country that is so intirely subdued by Superstition and the Artifices of their Priests. In *Bologna* they reckon there are seventy thousand persons. I saw not one of the chief Gories of this place, for the famous *Malapiccola* was out of Town while I was there. I saw no Play there, but the Poetic was so bad, the Farces so rude, and all was so ill acted, that I was not a little amazed to see the Company express so great a satisfaction in that which would have been hiss'd off the Stage either in *England* or *France*. From *Bologna* we went eight Miles in a Plain, and then we entered into that Range of Hills that carry the Name of *Apenins*; though that is strictly given on

to one that is the highest: All the way to *Flo-*
rence this Track of Hills continues, tho' there
 are several bottoms, and some considerable
 little Towns in them, but all is up-hill and
 down-hill, and *Florence* it self is just at the
 bottom of the last Hill. The High-ways all
 along these Hills are kept in so very good
 case, that in few of the best inhabited Coun-
 tries doth one find the High-ways so well main-
 tained as in those forsaken Mountains: but
 this is so great a Passage, that all that are con-
 cerned in it, find their Account in the expence
 they lay out upon it. On the last of these
 Hills, though in a little Bottom, in the midst
 of a Hill, stands *Pratolino*, one of the great
 Duke's Palaces, where the Retreat in Summer
 must be very agreeable; for the Air of those
 mountains is extream thin and pure. The
 Gardens in *Italy* are made at a great Cost,
 the Statues and Fountains are very rich and
 noble, the Grounds are well laid out, and
 the Walks are long and even: But as they
 have no Gravel to give them those firm and
 beautiful Walks that we have in *England*, so
 the constant Greenness of the Box doth so
 much please them, that the preferring the
 sight to the Smell, have their Gardens so high-
 fenced by Plots made with them, that there
 is no pleasure to walk in them; they also lay
 their Walks so between Hedges, that one is
 much confined in them. I saw first in a Gar-
 den at *Vincenza*, that which I found afterwards
 in many Gardens in *Italy*, which was extream
 convenient, there went a Course of Water round

about the Walks, about a foot from the ground in a Channel of Stone that went along the side of the Wall; and in this there were holes made, that a pipe of white Iron or Wood put to them, conveyed the Water to such Plants as in dry season, needed watering; and a Cock set the Water a running in this Course, so that without the trouble of carrying Water, one person could easily manage the watering of a great Garden. *Florence* is a beautiful and noble Town, full of great Palaces, rich Churches, and stately Convents. The Streets are paved in imitation of the old *Roman* Highways, with great Stone, bigger than our common Pavement-Stone, but much thicker, which are so hollowed in their Joynings to one another, that Horses find fastning enough to their Feet: There are many Statues and Fountains in the Streets, so that in every Corner one meets with many agreeable Objects. I will not entertain you with a Description of the great Duke's Palace and Gardens; or of the old Palace and the Gallery that joins to it, and of the vast Collection of Pictures, Statues, Cabinets, and other Curiosities that much needs amaze every one that sees them: the Plate, and in particular the Gold Plate, and the great Coach, are all such extraordinary things that they would require a very copious Description: if that had not been done so often, that it were to very little purpose to Copy what others have said: and these things are so exactly seen by every Traveller, that he can say nothing that is more particular of the

subjects than you will find in the common Iti-
 neraries of all Travellers. The great Dome
 is a magnificent Building, but the Frontispiece
 to the great Gate is not yet made. The Cu-
 pulo, is after *S. Peter's*, the greatest and highest
 that I saw in *Italy*: it is three hundred foot
 high, and of a vast Compass, and the whole
 Architecture of this Fabrick is very singular,
 as well as regular. Only that which was in-
 tended to add to its Beauty, lessened it very
 much in my Thoughts: for the Walls that
 are all of Marble, being of white and black
 Marble laid in different Figures and Orders,
 looked too like a Livery, and had not that air
 of Nobleness which in my opinion becomes so
 glorious a Fabrick. The Baptistery that stands
 before it, was a Noble Heathen Temple: its
 Gates of Brass are the best of that sort that
 are in the World: There are so many Histo-
 ries so well represented in bas Reliefs in them,
 with so much exactness, the work is so natu-
 ral, and yet so fine, that a curious man may
 find entertainment for many days if he would
 examine the three Gates of this Temple
 with a critical exactness. The *Annunciata*,
Mark's, *S. Croce*, and *S. Maria Novella*,
 are Churches of great Beauty and vast Riches:
 but the Church and Chappel of *S. Lawrence*
 exceeds them all as much in the Riches
 within, as it is inferior to them in the out-
 side, which is quite flea'd, if I may so speak,
 but on design to give it a rich outside of
 Marble. In a Chappel within this Church
 the Bodies of the great Dukes lie deposited

till the famous Chappel is finished. But I was much scandalized to see Statues with Nudities here, which I do not remember to have seen any where else in Churches. I will now offer at a Description of the Glorious Chappel which as it is without doubt the richest piece of Building that perhaps the World ever saw, so it goes on so slowly, that tho' there are always many at Work, yet it doth not seem to advance proportionably to the number of the Hands that are employed in it. Among the Statues that are to be in it, there is one of the Virgins made by *Michael Angelo* which represents her Grief at the Passion of her Blessed Son, that hath the most Life in all of all the Statues I ever saw. But the famous Library that belongs to this Convent took up more of my time than all the other Curiosities of *Florence*; for here is a Collection of many Manuscripts, most of them are *Greek*, that were gathered together by *Pope Clement* the V and given to his Country; and there are very many Printed Books mixed with them; and those Books that are there, are so rare, that they are almost as curious as Manuscripts. I saw some of *Virgil's* Poems in old Capitals. There is a Manuscript in which some parts both of *Tacitus* and *Apuleius* are written, and in one place, one in a different Hand hath writ that he had compared those Manuscripts: and he adds a Date to this in *Olibrius's* time, which is about twelve hundred years ago. I found some Diphthongs in it cast into one Letter which surprized me, for I thought that

ay of writing them had not been so ancient; but that which pleased me most was that, the library-keeper assured me that one had lately found the famous Epistle of St. *Chrysostome* to *Cesarius* in *Greek*, in the end of a Volume full of other things, and not among the Manuscripts of that Father's Books of which they have a great many. He thought he remembred well the place where the Book stood; so we turned over all the Books that stood near it; but I found it not: he promised to look it out for me if I came back that way. But I changing my design, and going back another way, could not see the bottom of this. It is true, the famous *Magnifico* who is the great Duke's Library-keeper, and is a person of most wonderful civility, and full of Candor, as well as he is learned beyond imagination, assured me that this could be no other than a Mistake of the library-keepers: he said such a discovery could not have been made without making so much noise that he must have heard of it. He added, there was not one man in *Florence* that either understood *Greek*, or that examined Manuscripts, so that he assured me I could not build on that an ignorant Library-keeper had told me: so I set down this Matter as I found it, without building much on it. *Florence* is much sunk from what it was; for they do not reckon that there are above fifty thousand Souls in it: and the other States that were once great Republicks, such as *Siena* and *Pisa*, while they retained their Liberty, are now shrunk almost

into nothing: It is certain that all three together are now not so numerous, as any one of them was two hundred years ago. *Lombardy* is full of People: and all round *Florence* there are a great many Villages; but as one goes over *Tuscany*, it appears so dispeopled, that one cannot wonder to find a Country that hath been a Scene of so much action and so many Wars, now so forsaken, and so poor, that in many places the Soil is quite neglected for want of Hands to cultivate it: and in other places where there are more people, they look so poor, and their houses are such miserable Ruines, that it is scarce accountable how there should be so much Poverty in so rich a Country, which is all over full of Beggars, and here the stile of Begging was a little altered from what I found it in *Lombardy*; for whereas there they begged for the sake of *St. Anthony*, here all begged for the Souls that were in Purgatory, and this was the stile in all the other parts of *Italy* through which I passed. In short, the dispeopling of *Tuscany* and most of the Principalities of *Italy*, but chiefly of the Pope's Dominions, which are more abandoned than any other part of *Italy* seemed to flow from nothing but the severing of the Government and the great decay of Trade: for the greatest Trade of *Italy* being in Silk, the vast Importations of Silks that the *East-India* Companies bring into *Europe* hath quite ruined all those that deal in this Manufacture: yet this is not the chief Cause of the dispeopling of those rich Countries

the severity of the Taxes is the true Reason : notwithstanding all that decay of Trade , the Taxes are still kept up. Besides this , the vast Wealth of the Convents, where the only people of *Italy* are to be found , that live not only at their Ease , but in great Plenty and Luxury , makes many forsake all sort of Industry , and seek for a recreation of those seats of Pleasure ; so that the People do not increase fast enough to make a new Race to come instead of those whom a hard Government drives away. It must needs surprize an attentive Traveller to see not only the *Venetian* Territory ; which is indeed a rich Country , but the *Baliages* of the *Switzers* , and the Coast of *Genoa* , so full of People , when *Tuscany* , the Patrimony , and the Kingdom of *Naples* have so few Inhabitants : on the Coast of *Genoa* there is for many Miles , as it were , a constant Tract of Towns and Villages , and all those are well peopled , though they have scarce any Soil at all , lying under the Mountains that are very barren , and that expose them to almost uneasy Sun ; and that they lie upon boisterous Sea , that is almost always in a storm , and that affords very few Fish : and that the Gentleness of the Government draws such Multitudes thither , and those are so full of Wealth , that Money goes at two per Cent. But on the other hand to balance this a little , so strange and wild a thing is the Nature of Man , at least of

Italians, that I was told that the worst People of all *Italy* are the *Genoveses*, and the most generally corrupted in their Morals, as to all sorts of Vice, so that though a severe Government, and Slavery are contrary to the Nature of man, and to human Society, to Justice and Equity; and to that essential equality that Nature hath made among men: yet on the other hand all men cannot bear that ease and liberty that becomes the human Nature. The Superstition of *Italy*, and the great waste of Wealth that one sees in their Churches, particularly those prodigious Masses of Plate with which their Altars are covered on Holidays, doth also sink their Trade extremely; for Silver, being in Commerce, when Blood is in the Body, when so much of that is dead, and circulates no more; it is no wonder if such an extravasation (if I may use so long and so hard a Word) of Silver, occasions great deadness in Trade. I had almost forgot one Remark that I made in the last Hill of the *Apenins*, just above *Florence*, that I never saw such tall and big Cypresses anywhere as grew over all that Hill, which seemed a little strange, that Tree being apt to be starved by a cold Winter among us, and there the Winters are severe. All the way in *Tuscany* is very rugged, except on the Sides of the *Arne*. But the Uneasiness of the Road is much qualified by the great Care that is had of the High-ways, which are all in very good case: the Inns are wretched and ill furnished both for Lodging and Diet.

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This is the Plague of all *Italy* when once one
hath passed the *Appennis*: for, except in the
great Towns, one really suffers so much that
way, that the pleasure of Travelling is much
abated by the Inconvenience that one meets in
every Stage through which he passes. I am,

SIR,

Yours

THE

THE FOURTH LETTER.

From Rome, the 8th. of December, 1685.

I Am now in the last Stage of my Voyage over *Italy*; for since my last from *Florence*, I have not only got hither, but have been in *Naples*; and have now satisfied my Curiosity so fully, that I intend to leave this Place within a day or two, and go to *Civitavechia*; and from thence by Sea to *Marseilles*, and so avoid an unpleasant Winters Journey over the *Alps*. It is true, I lose the sight of *Turin*, *Genoa*, and some other Courts: but though I am told these deserve well the pains of the Journey, yet when one rises from a great Meal, no Delicacies, how much soever they might tempt him at another time, can provoke his Appetite: So I confess freely that the sight of *Naples* and *Rome* have so set my Stomach that way, that the Curiosity of seeing new Places, is now very low with me, and indeed these which I have of late seen, are such, that places which at another time would please me much, would now make but a slight and cold Impression.

All the way from *Florence*, through the Great Dukes Country looked so sad, that I concluded it must be the most dispeopled of all *Italy*, but indeed I changed my Note when I came into the Popes Territories at *Pont Centino*, where there was a rich bottom all uncultivated, and not so much as stocked with Cattle : But as I passed from M. *Fiascone* to *Viterbo*, this appeared yet more amazing ; for a vast Champion Country lay almost quite deserted. And that wide Town, which is of so great a Compass, hath yet so few Inhabitants, and those look so Poor and Miserable, that the People in the ordinary Towns in *Scotland*, and in its worst Places make a better appearance. When I was within a days Journey of *Rome*, I fancied that the Neighbourhood of so great a City must mend the matter : but I was much disappointed, for a Soil that was so rich, and lay so sweetly that it far exceeded any thing I ever saw out of *Italy*, had neither Inhabitants in it, nor Cattel upon it, to the tenth part of what it could bear : The surprize that this gave me, encreased upon me as I went out of *Rome* on its other Side, chiefly all the way to *Naples*, and on the way to *Civita vecchia*, for that vast and rich Champian Country that runs all along to *Terracina*, which from *Civita vecchia* is a above a hundred Miles long, and is in many Places twelve or twenty Miles broad, is abandoned to such a Degree, that as far as ones Eye can carry one, there are often not so much as a House to be seen ; but on the Hills that are on the North side of this Valley, and by this

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dispeopling of the Country, the Air is now become so unwholesom, that it is not safe to be a night in it all the Summer long: for the Water that lyes upon many places not being drained, it rots: and in the Summer this produces so many noisom steams, that it is felt even in *Rome* it self; and if it were not for the breezes that come from the Mountains, the Air would be intollerable: When one sees all this large but waste Country from the Hill of *Marino* twelve miles beyond *Rome*, he cannot wonder enough at it. In a word it is the rigor of the Government that hath driven away the Inhabitants, and their being driven away, hath now reduced it to such a pass, that it is hardly possible to repeople it: for such as would come to drain and cultivate it, must run a great hazard, and few can resolve on that, when they can hope for no other reward of their Industry, but an uneasy Government. It is the greatest Solicism in Government for the Prince to be Elective, and yet Absolute, for an Hereditary Prince is induced to consider his posterity, and to maintain his people, so that those that come after him may still support the rank which they hold in the World: But an Elective Prince hath nothing of that in his eye unless he hath a pitch of generosity which is not ordinary among men, and least of all among *Italians*, who have a passion for their Families, which is not known in other places: and thus a Pope who comes in late to this dignity, which by consequence he cannot hope to hold long, doth very naturally turn

to those Councils, by which his Family may make all the haste they can during this Sunshine: And tho' antiently the Cardinals were a check upon the Pope, and a sort of a Council without whom he could do nothing even in Temporals; yet now they have quite lost that; and they have no other share in affairs than that to which the Pope thinks fit to admit them, so that he is the most absolute Prince in *Europe*. It is true as to Spirituals they retain still a large share, so that in censures and definitions the Pope can do nothing regularly, without their concurrence; tho' it is certain that they have not so good a Title to pretend to that as to a share in the Temporal Principality. For if the Pope derives any thing from *St. Peter*, all that, is singly in himself, and it is free to him to proceed by what method he thinks best; since the Infalibility, according to their pretensions, rests singly in him: Yet because there was not so much to be got by acting Arbitrary in those matters, and a Summary way of exercising this Authority, might have tempted the World to have inquired too much into the grounds on which it is built: Therefore the Popes have let the Cardinals retain still a share in this Supremacy over the Church, tho' they have no claim to it, neither by any Divine nor Ecclesiastical warrants: But as for the endowments of the See of *Rome*, to which they may justly lay claim, as being in a manner the Chapter of that See; there is so much to be got by this, that the Popes have

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ingrossed it wholly to themselves: and thus it is that the Government of this Principality is very unsteady. Sometimes the Popes Family are extreamly Glorious, and magnificent, at other times, they think of nothing but of Establishing their House: Sometimes the Pope is a Man of Sense himself; sometimes he is quite sunk, and as the last Pope was, he becomes a Child again through old Age. Sometimes he hath a particular Stiffness of Temper, with a great Slowness of Understanding, and an insatiable Desire of heaping up Wealth, which is the Character of him that now Reigns. By this Diversity which appears eminently in every new Pontificat that commonly avoids those excesses that made the former Reign odious, the Councils of the Popedom are weak and disjointed. But if this is sensible to all *Europe*, with relation to the general Concerns of that Body, it is much more visible in the Principality it self, that is subject to so variable a Head. There hath been in this Age a Succession of four ravenous Reigns, and tho there was a short interruption in the Reign of the *Rospiglosi*, that coming after the *Barberins*, the *Pamphili*, and the *Ghigis*, did not enrich it self: and yet it disordered the Revenue by the vast magnificence in which he reigned, more in twenty nine months time, then any other had done in so many Years. The *Altieri* did, in a most Scandalous manner raise themselves in a very short and despised Reign, and built one of the Noblest Palaces in *Rome*. He that reigns now doth not

indeed raise his Family avowedly, but he doth not ease the people of their Taxes; and as there is no magnificence in his Court, nor any publick buildings now carryed on at *Rome*, so the many vacant Caps, occasion many empty Palaces: and by this means there is so little expence now made at *Rome*, that it is not possible for the people to live and pay the Taxes, which hath driven as is believed almost a fourth part of the Inhabitants out of *Rome*, during this Pontificate. And as the preemption of the corn makes that there is no profit made by the owners, out of the cultivation of the Soil, all that going wholly to the Pope, so there are no ways left here of imploying ones money to any considerable advantage: For the publick Banks, which are all in the Popes hand, do not pay in effect three *per cent.* tho they pretend to give four *per cent.* of interest: The settlement is indeed four *per cent.* and this was thought so great an Advantage, that Actions on the Popes Bank were bought at a Hundred and sixteen the hundred. But this Pope broke through all this, and declared he would give all men their money again, unless they would pay him thirty *per Cent.* for the continuing of this Interest; and thus for a Hundred Crowns Principal, one not only payed at first one Hundred sixteen: but afterwards thirty: In all one hundred six and forty for the Hundred, which is almost the half lost: For whensoever the Pope will pay them back their Money all the rest is lost: And while

I am here, there is a report that the Pope is treating with the *Genoeses* for money at two *per Cent.* and if he gets it on those Terms, then he will pay his debts : and the subjects that have put in money in this bank, will, by this means, lose six and forty *per Cent.* which is almost the half of their stock. A man of quality at *Rome*, and an eminent Church-man, who took me likewise for one of their Clergy, because I wore the habit of a Church-man, said that it was a horrible scandal to the whole Christian World, and made one doubt of the Truth of the Christian Religion, to see more oppression and cruelty in their Territory, than was to be found even in *Turkey*; tho it being in the hands of Christs Vicar, one should expect to find there the pattern of a mild and gentle Government; and how, said he, can a man expect to find his Religion here, where the common maxims of Justice and Mercy were not so much as known. And I can never forget the lively reflection that a *Roman* Prince made to me upon the folly of all those severe Oppressions, which as they drive away the Inhabitants, so they reduce those that are left to such a degeneracy of Spirit by their necessities, that the *Spaniards*, whose Dominions look so big in the Map, are now brought so low: and if they had kept still the possession they once had of the *United Netherlands*, they would signifie no more towards their preservation, then their other Provinces did; which, by their unskilful conduct they have both dispeopled and exhausted

haunted : Whereas by their losing those seven *Provinces*, those States have fallen upon such wise Notions of Government, and have drawn so much Wealth, and such numbers of people together, that *Spain* it self was now preserved by them, and was saved in this Age by the loss it made of those *Provinces* in the last : and those States that if they had remained subject to *Spain*, would have signified little to its support, did that now much more considerably by being Allies, then they could have done if they had not shaken off their yoke.

Indeed if *Spain* had been so happy as to have such Viceroyes and Governors, as it has now in *Naples*, their affairs could not have declined so fast as they have done. The Marquess of *Carpi*, in his Youth intended to have taken so severe a revenge of an injury that he thought the late King of *Spain* did him in an Amour, that he designed the blowing him up by Gun-powder, when he was in the Councel Chamber : but that Crime was discovered in time : and was not only forgiven him in consideration of the greatness of his Family, he being the Son of *Don Lewis de Haro* : but after that he was made for several years Ambassador in *Rome*: He is now Viceroy of *Naples*, and is the only Governor of all the places through which I passed, that is, without exception beloved and esteemed by all sorts of People : for during the few years of his Ministry, he hath redressed such abuses that seemed past Cure, and that required an Age to correct them :
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He hath repressed the Insolence of the *Spaniards* so much at *Naples*, that the Natives have no occasion to complain of the haughtiness of their Masters: for he proceeds against the *Spaniards* with no less severity, when they give cause for it, then against the *Napolitans*: He hath taken the pay of the Soldiers so immediately into his own Care, that they, who before his coming, were half Naked, and robbed such as passed on the Streets of *Naples* in Day-light, are now exactly paid, well Desciplined, and so decently cloathed, that it is a Pleasure to see them: He examines their Musters also so exactly, that he is sure not to be cheated by false Lists: He hath brought the Markets and Weights of *Naples* to a true exactness: and where the Bread was generally too light, he has sent for Loaves out of the several places of the Markets and weighed them himself: and by some severe Punishments on those that sold the Bread too light, he hath brought this matter to a just Regulation: He hath also brought the Courts of Judicature, that were thought generally very corrupt, to Reputation again, and it is believed he hath Spies to watch in case the Trade of Bribes is found to be still going on: He hath fortified the Palace which was before his time, so much exposed, that it would have been no hard thing to have made a descent upon it: But the two things that raise his Reputation most, are his extirpating of the *Banditi*, and the Regulation of the Coin, which he hath taken in

hand. It is well enough known what a plague the *Banditi* have been to the Kingdom, for they going in Troops, not only robbed the Countrey, but were able to resist an ordinary Body of Souldiers if they had set on them: These travelled about seeking for spoil all the Summer long, but in Winter they are harboured by some of the *Neapolitan* Barons, who gave them Quarters: and thereby did not only protect their own Lands, but had them as so many Instrumens ready to execute their revenges on their Enemies. This was well known at *Naples* and there was a Councel that had the Care of the reducing the *Banditi* committed to them, who as they catched some few, and changed them, so they fined such Barons as gave them harbour, and it was believed that those Fines amounted to near a hundred and fifty thousand Crowns a year: And thus the disease went on; only now and then there was a little Blood let, which never went to the bottom of the Distemper. But when the present Viceroy entred upon the Government he resolved to extirpate all the *Banditi*, and first let all the Barons understand that if they harboured them any more, a little Fire would not save them: but that he would proceed against them with the utmost severity, and by this means the *Banditi* could have no Winter Quarters: So they betook themselves to some fastnesses among the Hills, and resolved to make good the Passes, and to accommodate themselves the best they could amidst

amidst the Mountains. The Viceroy sent a great Body against them, but they defended themselves for some time vigorously, and in one Sally they killed five Hundred Men: but at last seeing that they were like to be hard Pressed; and that the Viceroy intended to come against them in Person, they accepted of the Terms that he offered them, which was a Pardon for what was past both as to Life and Gallies, and six pence a day for their entertainment in Prison during Life, or the Viceroy's Pleasure; and so they rendered themselves. They are kept in a large Prison, and now and then as he sees cause for it, he sends some few of them up and down to serve in Garrisons. And thus, beyond all Mens Expectation, he finished this matter in a very few Months; and the Kingdom of Naples that hath been so long a Scene of Pillage and Robbery, is now so much changed, that in no place of *Europe* do the Subjects enjoy more entire Security. As for the Coin, as all other *Spanish* Mony is so subject to clipping, that the whole Mony of *Naples* is now light, and far below the true Value, so the Viceroy hath resolved to redress this: he considers that the crying down of Mony, that passeth upon the publick Credit, is a robbing of those, in whose Hands the Mony happens to be when such Proclamations are put out, and therefore he takes a Method that is more general, in which every one will bear his share, so that none will be crushed by it. He hath laid some Taxes on the whole Kingdom, and hath

hath got a great many to bring in some Plate to be Coined : and when he hath thus prepared such a quantity, as may serve for the Circulation that is necessary, he intends to call in all the old Money, and to give out new Money for it. Thus doth this Viceroy set such a pattern to the other Ministers of the Crown of *Spain* that if many would follow it, the State of their affairs would be soon altered.

The Kingdom of *Naples* is the richest part of all *Italy*, for the very Mountains that are near the half of the Soil, are fruitful, and produce either Wine or Oyl, in great abundance. *Apulia* is a great Corn Country, but it is excessive hot, and in some years all is burnt up. The *Jesuits* are the Proprietors of near the half of *Apulia*, and they treat their Tenants with the same rigour that the Barons of this Kingdom do generally use towards their Farmers: For the Commons here are so miserably oppressed, that in many places they dye of hunger even amidst the great plenty of their best years, for the Corn is exported to *Spain*; but neither the *Spaniards* nor the *Neapolitans* understand Trade so well as to be their own Merchants or Carriers, so that the *English* do generally carry away the profit of this Trade. The Oyl of this Kingdom is still a vast Trade, and the Manufacture of the Wool and Soap of *England*, consumes yearly some thousands of Tuns. The Silk Trade is so low that it only serves themselves, but the exportation is inconsiderable: the sloath and laziness of this people renders them incapable of making those advantages of

of so rich a Soil, that a more industrious sort of People would find out: For it amazes a Stranger to see in their little Towns, the whole men of the Town walking in the Market places in their torn Cloaks, and doing nothing; and though in some big Towns, such as *Capua*, there is but one Inn, yet even that is so miserable, that the best Room and Bed in it, is so bad, that our Foot-men in *England*, would make a grievous Out-cry if they were no better lodged: nor is there any thing to be had in them: the Wine is intolerable, the Bread ill baked, no Victuals, except Pigeons, and the Oil is rotten. In short, except one carries his whole Provision from *Rome* or *Naples*, he must resolve to endure a good deal of Misery in the four days journey that is between those two Places. And this is what a Traveller, that sees the Riches of the Soil, cannot comprehend: but as they have not Hands enough for their Soil, so those they have are generally so little employed, that it is no wonder to see their Soil produce so little, that in the midst of all that abundance that Nature hath set before them, they are one of the poorest Nations of *Europe*. But besides this which I have named, the vast and dead Wealth that is in the Hands of the Churchmen, is another evident Cause of their Misery. One that knew the State of this Kingdom well, assured me that if it were divided into five parts, upon a strict Survey, it would be found that the Churchmen had four parts of the five, which he made out thus, they have in Soil above the half of ours:

the whole, which is two and a half : and in Tithes and Gifts and Legacies they have one and a half more : for no man dieth without leaving a considerable Legacy to some Church or some Convent. The wealth that one sees in the City of *Naples* alone, passeth imagination : there are four and twenty houses of the Order of the *Dominicans*, of both Sexes, and two and twenty of the *Franciscans*, seven of the *Jesuits* ; besides the Convents, of the *Olivitanes*, the *Theatines*, the *Carmelites*, the *Benedictines* : and above all, for situation and riches the *Carthusians* on the top of the Hill that lyeth over the Town. The riches of the *Annunciata* are prodigious : It is the greatest Hospital in the World, the Revenue is said to be four hundred thousand Crowns a year : the number of the Sick is not so great as at *Milan* : Yet one convenience for their sick I observed in their Galleries, which was considerable, that every Bed stood in an Alcove, and had a Wall on both sides separating it from the Beds on both hands, and as much void space on both sides of the Bed. That the Bed it self took up but half the Room, The young Children that they maintain are so many, that one can hardly believe the numbers that they boast of : for they talk of many thousands that are not seen, but are at Nurse : a great part of the wealth of this house goeth to the enriching their Church, which will be all over within crusted with inlayings of lovely marble, in a great variety and beauty of colours : The Plate that is in the Treasury here

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and

and in the Dome, (which is but a mean building, because it is ancient, but hath a Noble Chappel, and a vast Treasury) and in a great many other Churches are so prodigious, that upon the modest estimate, the Plate of the Churches of *Naples* amounts to eight millions of Crowns. The new Church of the Jesuites, that of St. *John* the Apostle, and that of St. *Paul* are surprizing rich; the gilding and painting that is on the roofs of those Churches have cost millions: And as there are about a hundred Convents in *Naples*, so every one of these, if it were in another place, would be thought well worth seeing, tho the riches of the greater Convents here, make many of them to be less visited. Every year there is a new Governour of the *Annuntiata*, who perhaps puts in his own Pocket twenty thousand Crowns; and to make some compensation when he goeth out of Office, he giveth a vast piece of Plate to the House, a Statue for a Saint in Silver, or some Coloss of a Candlestick; for several of those pieces of plate are said to be worth ten thousand Crowns; and thus all the Silver of *Naples* becomes dead and useless: The Jesuits are great Merchants here; their Wine Cellar is a vast Vault, and holds above a thousand Hogsheads, and the best Wine of *Naples* is sold by them, yet they do not retail it out so scandalously as the *Minims* do, who live on the great square before the Viceroy's Palace and sell out their Wine by retail: they pay no duty, and have extraordinary good Wine and are in the best Place of the Town for the

retail. It is true the *Neopolitans* are no great drinkers, so the profits of this Tavern are not so great as they would be in colder Countries: for here men go only in for a draught in the mornings, or when they are athirst. Yet the House groweth extream rich, and hath one of the finest Chappels that is in all *Naples*; but the Trade seems very unbecoming men of that Profession, and of so strict an Order. The Convents have a very particular priviledge in this Town; for they may buy all the houses that ly on either side, till the first street that discontinueth the Houses; and there being scarce a street in *Naples* in which there is not a Convent, by this means, they may come to buy in the whole Town: And the progress that the wealth of the Clergy makes in this Kingdom is so visible, that if there is not some stop put to it, within an Age they will make themselves Masters of the whole Kingdom: It is an amazing thing to see so profound an ignorance as reigns among the Clergy prevail so effectually, for tho all the secular persons here speak of them with all possible scorn, yet they are the Masters of the Spirits of the people. The Women are infinitely superstitious, and give their husbands no rest, but as they draw from them great presents to the Church. It is true there are societies of men at *Naples* of freer thoughts than can be found in any other place of *Italy*: The Greek learning begins to flourish there, and the new Philosophy is much studied; and there is an Assembly that is held in D. *Joseph*

Valleta's Library (where there is a vast collection of well chosen Books) composed of men that have a right tast of true learning and good sense: they are ill looked on by the Clergy , and represented as a set of Atheists, and as the spawn of *Pomponatius's* School: But I found no such thing among them , for I had the Honour to meet twice or thrice with a considerable number of them , during the short stay that I made among them : There is a learned Lawyer *Francisco Andria* that is considered as one of the most inquisitive men of the Assembly : There is also a Grand-child of the Great *Alciat* who is very curious as well as learned. Few Churchmen come in to this attempt for the reviving of Learning among them : On the contrary, it is plain that they dread it above all things. Only one Eminent Preacher *Rinaldi* that is Archdeacon of *Capua* associates himself with them : he was once of the Jesuite Order, but left it ; and as that alone served to give a good character of him to me, so upon a long conversation with him I found a great many other things that possessed me with a high value for him. Some Physicians in *Naples* are brought under the scandal of Atheism , and it is certain that in *Italy* men of searching understandings , who have no other Idea of the Christian Religion, but that which they see received among them, are very naturally tempted to disbelieve it quite ; for the believing it all alike in gross without distinction ; and finding such notorious cheats, appear in many parts of their Religion , and

upon that induced to disbelieve the whole. The Preachings of the Monks in *Naples* are terrible things. I saw a Jesuit go in a sort of a Procession, with a great company about him, and calling upon all that he saw, to follow him to a place where a Mountebank was selling his Medicins, near whom he took his Room, and entertained the people with a sort of a Farce, till the Mountebank got him to give over; fearing lest his action should grow tedious, and disperse the company that was brought together. There are no famous Preachers, nor men of any reputation for learning among the Jesuites: I was told they had not men capable to teach their Schools, and that they were forced to hire strangers: The Order of the *Ora-* tory hath not that reputation in *Italy*, that it hath gained in *France*, and the little Learning that is among the Clergy in *Naples*, is among some few Secular Priests.

The new method of *Molino's* doth so much prevail in *Naples*, that it is believed he hath above twenty thousand followers in this City; And since this hath made some noise in the World, and yet is generally but little understood, I will give you some account of him: He is a *Spanish* Priest that seems to be out an ordinary Divine, and is certainly a very all reasoner when he undertakes to prove his opinions: He hath writ a Book, which is intituled *il Guida Spirituale*, which is a short abstract of the Mystical Divinity; the substance of the whole, is reduced to this, that our prayers and other devotions, the best

methods are to retire the mind from all gross Images, and so to form an act of Faith, and thereby to Present our selves before God: and then to sink into a silence and cessation of new acts, and to let God act upon us, and so to follow his conduct: This way he prefers to the multiplication of many new acts, and different forms of devotion, and he makes small account of corporal austerities, and reduces all the exercises of Religion to this simplicity of mind: He thinks this is not only to be proposed to such as live in Religious Houses, but even to Secular persons, and by this he hath proposed a great reformation of mens minds and manners: He hath many Priests in *Italy*, but chiefly in *Naples*, that dispose those who confess themselves to them, to follow his methods: The Jesuits have set themselves much against this conduct, as foreseeing that it may much weaken the Empire that Superstition hath over the minds of people, that it may make Religion become a more plain and simple thing, and may also open a door to Enthusiasms: they also pretend that his conduct is factious and seditious, that this may breed a Schism in the Church. And because he saith, in some places of his Book, that the mind may rise up to such a simplicity in its acts, that it may rise in some of its devotions to God immediately, without contemplating the Humanity of Christ, they have accused him, as intending to lay aside the Doctrine of Christ's Humanity, tho it is plain that he speaks only of the purity of some single acts:

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Upon all those heads they have set themselves much against *Molinos*; and they have also pretended that some of his Disciples have infused it into their Penitents, that they may go and communicate as they find themselves disposed, without going first to Confession, which they thought weakned much the yoke, by which the Priests subdue the Consciences of the People to their Conduct: Yet he was much supported both in the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily*; he hath also many Friends and Followers at *Rome*. So the Jesuits, as a Provincial of the Order assured me, finding they could not ruin him by their own force, got a great King that is now extreemly in the Interests of their Order to interpose, and to represent to the Pope the danger of such Innovations. It is certain, the Pope understands the matter very little, and that he is possessed with a great opinion of *Molino's* sanctity, yet upon the complaints of some Cardinals that seconded the zeal of that King, he and some of his followers were clapt in the Inquisition, where they have been now for some months, but still they are well used, which is believed to flow from the good opinion that the Pope hath on him, who saith still, that tho he may erre, yet he is certainly a good Man: Upon this imprisonment *Pasquin* said a pleasant thing, in one week one man had been condemned to the Gallies for some what he had said, another had been hanged for somewhat he had writ, and *Molinos* was clapt in Prison, whose Doctrine consisted chiefly in this, that

men ought to bring their minds to a State of inward quietness, from which the name of *Quietists* was given to all his followers: The Pasquinade upon all this, was *si parliamo, in Galere, si scrivemmo Impiccati, si stiamo in quiete all Sant' Officio, e che bisogna fore*: If we speak we are sent to the Gallies, if we write we are hanged: if we stand quiet we are clapt up in the Inquisition: what must we do then? Yet his Followers at Naples are not daunted, but they believe he will come out of this Tryal victorious.

The City of *Naples* as it is the best scituated, and in the best climate, so it is one of the Noblest Cities of *Europe*, and if it is not above half as big as *Paris* or *London*, yet it hath much more beauty then either of them: the streets are large and broad, the pavement is Great and Noble, the Stones being generally above a foot square: and it is full of Palaces and great Buildings: The Town is well supplied by daily Markets, so that provisions are ever fresh and in great plenty, the Wine is the best of *Europe*, and both the Fish and Flesh is extream good: it is scarce ever cold in Winter, and there is a fresh Air comes both from the Sea and the Mountains in Summer. The Viceroy's Palace is no extraordinary Building, only the Stair-case is great: But it is now very richly furnished within, in Pictures and Statues; there are in it some Statues of the *Egyptian* Deities of Touchstone, that are of great value: There are no great Antiquities here, only there is

an ancient *Roman Portico* that is very Noble, before *St. Paul's Church*: But without the City near the Church and Hospital of *St. Gennaro*, that is without the Gates, are the Noble Catacombs: which because they were beyond any thing I saw in *Italy*, and to which the Catacombs of *Rome* are not to be compared, and since I do not find any account of them, in all the Books that I have yet seen concerning *Naples*, I shall describe them more particularly.

They are vast and long Galleries cut out of the Rock: there are three Stories of them one above another. I was in two of them, but the Rock is fallen in the lowest, so that one cannot go into it, but I saw the passage to it: These Galleries are generally about twenty foot broad, and about fifteen foot high: so that they are Noble and spacious places, and not little and narrow as the Catacombs at *Rome*, which are only three or four foot broad, and five or six foot high. I was made believe that these Catacombs of *Naples*, went into the Rock nine mile long; but for that I have it only by report: yet that be true, they may perhaps run towards *Puzzolo*, and so they may have been the burial places of the Towns on that day; but of this I have no certainty. I walked indeed a great way, and found Galleries going off in all hands without end, and whereas in the *Roman* Catacombs there are not above three or four rows of niches

that are cut out in the Rock one over another, into which the dead bodies were laid; Here there are generally six or seven rows of those niches, and they are both larger and higher: some niches are for Childrens bodies, and in many places there are in the Floors, as it were great Chests hewn out of the Rock, to lay the bones of the dead, as they dried, in them; but I could see no marks either of a cover for these holes that looked like the bellies of Chests, or of a facing to shut up the niches when a dead body was laid in them; so that it seems they were monstrous unwholesome and stinking places, where some thousands of Bodies lay rotting, without any thing to shut in so loathsome a sight, and so odious a smell: For the Niches shew plainly that the Bodies were laid in them only wrapt in the dead cloaths, they being too low for Coffins. In some places of the Rock there is as it were a little Chappel hewn out in the Rock, that goes off from the common Gallery, and there are niches all round about; but I saw no marks of any Wall that shut in such places, tho I am apt to think these might be burying places appropriated to particular Families. There is in some places on the Walls an Arch, Old Mosaick work, and some Painting, the Colours are fresh, and the manner and Characters are *Gothick*, which made me conclude that this might have been done by the *Normans* about six hundred years ago, after they drive out the *Saracens*: In some places there are Palm-Trees painted,

and

and Vines in other places. The freshness of the Colours shews these could not have been done while this place was imploied for burying, for the steams and rottenness of the air, occasioned by so much corruption, must have dissolved both Plaister and Colours. In one place there is a man painted with a little Beard, and *Paulus* is written by his Head: there is another reaching him a Garland, and by his head *Laus* is written, and this is repeated in another place right over against it. In another place I found a cross painted, and about the upper part of it these Letters J. C. X. O. and in the lower part N J K A are painted: A learned Antiquary that went with me, agreed with me that the manner of the Painting and Characters did not seem to be above six hundred years old: but neither of us knew what to make of these Letters: The lower seemed to relate to the last word of the Vision, which it is said that *Constantine* saw with the Cross that appeared to him: But tho the first two Letters might be for Jesus, it being ordinary in old coins and Inscriptions to put a C. for an S. and X. stands for Christ, yet we knew not what to make of the O, unless it were for the Greek *Theta*, and that the little line in the bosome of the *Theta* was worn out, and then it stands for *Theos*; and thus the whole Inscription is, Jesus Christ God overcometh. Another Picture in the Wall had written over it *Sta. Johannes*, which was a clear sign of a barbarous Age. In another place there is a Picture high in the Wall, and

three

three Pictures under it, that at top had no Inscription; those below it had these Inscriptions *S. Katharina*, *S. Agape*, and *S. Margarita*, these Letters are clearly modern, besides that *Margaret* and *Katherine* are modern names: and the addition of *ta* a little above the *S.* were manifest evidences that the highest Antiquity that can be ascribed to this Painting is six hundred years. I saw no more Painting, and I began to grow weary of the darkness, and the thick Air of the place, so I stayed not above an hour in the Catacombs. This made me reflect more particularly on the Catacombs of *Rome* than I had done, I could imagine no reason why so little mention is made of those of *Naples*, when there is so much said concerning those of *Rome*; and could give my self no other account of the matter, but that it being a maxime to keep up the Reputation of the *Roman* Catacombs, as the repositories of the Reliques of the primitive Christians, it would have much lessened their Credit, if it had been thought that there were Catacombs far beyond them in all respects, that yet cannot be supposed to have been the work of the primitive Christians, and indeed nothing seems more evident than that these were the common burying places of the ancient Heathens. One enters into them without the Walls of the Towns, according to the Laws of the twelve Tables, and such are the Catacombs of *Rome* that I saw, which were those of *S. Agnes* and *S. Sebastian*, the entry into them being without the Town; this answers the Law, tho in effect they run under it, for

for in those days when they had not the use of the Needle, they could not know which way they carried on those works when they were once so far ingaged under ground as to lose themselves. It is a vain imagination to think that the Christians, in the Primitive times, were able to carry on such a work; for as this prodigious digging into such Rocks, must have been a very visible thing by the Mountains of Rubbish that must have been brought out, and by the vast number of hands that must have been employed in it; so it is absurd to think that they could hold their Assemblies amidst the annoyance of so much corruption. I found the steams so strong, that tho I am as little subject to vapours as most men, yet I had all the day long after I was in them, which was not near an hour, a confusion and as it were a boiling in my head, that disordred me extreamly; and if there is now so much stagnating Air there, this must have been sensible in a more eminent and insufferable manner while there were vast numbers of Bodies rotting in those niches. But besides this improbability that presents it self from the nature of the thing, I called to mind a passage of a Letter of *Cornelius* that was Bishop of *Rome*, after the middle of the third Century, which is preserved by *Ensebius* in his sixth Book, Chapter 43. in which we have the State of the Church of *Rome* at that time set forth. There were forty six *Presbyters*, seven *Deacons*, as many *Sub-deacons*, and ninety four of the Inferior Orders of the Clergy among them: there were also

also fifteen hundred Widows, and other poor maintained out of the Publick Charities. It may be reasonably supposed that the numbers of the Christians were as great when this Epistle was writ, as they were at any time before *Constantines* dayes; for as this was writ at the end of that long peace, of which both *S. Cyprian* and *Lactantius* speak, that had continued above a hundred years; so after this time there was such a Succession of Persecutions that came so thick one upon another, after short intervals of quiet, that we cannot think the numbers of the Christians increased much beyond what they were at this time. Now there are two particulars in this State of the Clergy, upon which one may make a probable estimate of the numbers of the Christians: the one is their Poor, which were but fifteen hundred, now upon an exact survey, it will be found that where the Poor are well looked to, their number rises generally to be the thirtieth or fortieth part of Mankind: and this may be well believed to be the proportion of the Poor among the Christians of that Age: For as their Charitie was so vigorous and tender, so we find *Celsus*, *Julian*, *Lucian*, *Porphyry*, and others, object this to the Christians of that time, that their Charities to the Poor drew vast numbers of the lower sort among them, who made themselves Christians that they might be supplied by their Brethren: So that this being the State of the Christians, then we may reckon the Poor the thirtieth part, and so fifteen hundred multiplied by thirty,

thirty, produce five and forty thousand: And I am the more inclined to think that this rises up near to the full sum of their numbers, by the other character of the numbers of the Clergy, for as there were forty six *Presbyters*, so there were ninety four of the inferior Orders, who were by two more then the double of the number of the Priests: and this was in a time in which the care of Souls was more exactly looked after, then it has been in the more corrupted Ages, the Clergy having then really more work on their hands, the instructing of their *Catechumens*, the visiting their Sick, and the supporting and comforting the weak, being tasks that required so much application, that in so vast a City as *Rome* was in those dayes, in which it is probable the Christians were scattered over the City, and mixed in all the parts of it, we make a conjecture that is not ill grounded, when we reckon that every *Presbyter* had perhaps about a thousand Souls committed to his care, so this rises to six and forty thousand: which comes very near the sum that may be gathered from the other hint, taken from the number of their Poor. So that about fifty thousand is the highest account to which we can reasonably raise the numbers of the Christians of *Rome* in that time: And of so many Persons, the old, the young, and the women, make more then three fourth parts, so that men that were in condition to work were not above twelve thousand: and by consequence they were in no condition to undertake and carry on so vast a work.

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If *Cornelius* in that Letter speaks of the numbers of the Christians in excessive Terms, and if *Tertullian* in his *Apolegetick* hath also set out the numbers of the Christians of his Time, in a very high strain, that is only to be ascribed to a pompous Eloquence, which disposeth People to magnifie their own party, and we must allow a great deal to a hyperbole that is very natural to all that set forth their forces in general terms. It is true it is not so clear when those vast cavities were dug out of the rocks. We know that when the Laws of the twelve Tables were made sepulture was then in use: and *Rome* being then grown to a vast bigness no doubt they had repositories for their dead; so that since none of the *Roman* Authors mention any such work it may not be unreasonable to Imagine that these vaults had been wrought and cut out from the first beginnings of the City, and so the latter Authors had no occasion to take notice of it. It is also certain that the burning came to be in use among the *Romans*, yet they returned back to their first Custome of burying bodies long before *Constantines* time, so that it was not the Christian Religion that produced this Change. All our Modern writers take it for granted that the change was made in the times of the *Antonines*: yet there being no Law made concerning it, and no mention being made in an Age full of writers, of any orders that were given for burying places, *Velferus's* opinion seems more probable that the Custome of burning wore out by degrees,

grees, and since we are sure that they once buried, it is more natural to think that the slaves and the meaner sort of the people were still buried; that being a less expenceful and a more simple way of bestowing their bodies then burning, which was both pompous and chargeable, and if there were already burying places prepared, it is much easier to Imagine how the Custom of burying grew Universal without any Law made concerning it.

I could not for some time find out upon what grounds the Modern Criticks take it for granted, that burying began in the times of the *Antonines*: till I had the happiness to talk of this matter with the Learned *Gronovius*, who seems to be such a Master of all the Antient learning, as if he had the Authors lying alwaies open before him: he told me that it was certain the change from burning to burying was not made by the Christian Emperours, for *Macrobius* (lib. 7. cap. 7.) says in plain terms, that the custome of burning the bodies of the Dead was quite worn out in that Age: which is a clear intimation that it was not laid aside so late as by *Constantine*, and as there was no Law made by him on that head, so he and the succeeding Emperours gave such an entire tolleration to *Paganisme*, admitting those of that Religion to the greatest Employments that it is not to be imagined that there was any order given against burning, so that it is clear the *Hethens* had changed it of their own accord: otherways we should have found that among the complaints

complaints that they made of the grievances under
 which they lay from the Christians. But it
 is more difficult to fix the time when this
 change was made, *Gronovius* shewed me a pas-
 sage of *Phlegons* that mentions the bodies that
 were laid in the ground, yet he did not build
 on that, for it may have relation to the customs
 of burying that might be else-where. And
 so *Petronius* gives the account of the burial
 of the *Ephesian* Matron's husband : but he made
 it apparent to me that burying was commonly
 practised in *Commodus's* time, for *Xiphilinus*
 tells us that in *Pertinax's* time the friends of
 those whom *Commodus* had ordered to be put
 to death had dug up their Bodies, some bring-
 ing out only some parts of them, and others
 raising their intire Bodies. The same Au-
 thor also tells us that *Pertinax* buried *Com-
 modus's* body, and so saved it from the rage
 of the people, and here is a positive Evi-
 dence that burying was the common practice of
 that time. It is true, it is very probable that
 as we see some of the *Roman* Families con-
 tinued to bury their Dead even when bur-
 ning was the more common Custome, so per-
 haps others continued after this to bury their
 Dead, the thing being Indifferent, and no Law
 being made about it, and therefore it was
 particularly objected to the Christians after
 this time, that they abhorred the Custome of
 burning the bodies of the dead, which is men-
 tioned by *Minutius Felix*, but this or any
 other evidences, that may be brought from
 Meddals of Consecrations after this time, will

only prove that some were still burnt, and that the Christians practised burying Universally, as expressing their belief of the Resurrection, whereas the *Heathens* held the thing Indifferent. It is also clear from the many genuine Inscriptions that have been found in the Catacombs which bear the dates of the Consuls, that these were the common Burial places of all the *Christians* of the fourth and fifth Century: for I do not remember that there is any one date that is Antienter: and yet not one of the writers of those Ages speak of them as the work of the Primitive *Christians*. They speak indeed of the burial places of the Martyrs, but that will prove no more but that the *Christians* might have had their quarters, and their walks in those common burial places where they laid their dead, and which might have been known among them, tho it is not likely that they would in times of persecutions make such inscriptions as might have exposed the bodies of their dead friends to the rage of their Enemies. And the spurious acts of some Saints and Martyrs are of too little credit to give any support to the common Opinion. *Damasus's* Poetry is of no better authority. And tho those Ages were inclined enough to give credit to Fables, yet it seems this of those Catacombs having been the work of the Primitive *Christians* was too gross a thing to have been so early imposed on the World. And this silence in an Age in which superstition was going on at great a rate has much force in it, for so vast

a work, as those *Catacombs* are, must have been well known to all the *Romans*. It were easie to carry this much further, and to shew that the bas reliefs that have been found in some of those *Catacombs*, have nothing of the beauty of the ancient and *Roman* time. This is also more discernable in many Inscriptions that are more *Gothick* then *Roman*, and there are so many Inscriptions relating to Fables, that it is plain these were of later times, and we see by St. *Jerom* that the Monks began, even in his time, to drive a trade of Reliques; so it is no wonder that to raise the credit of such a heap as was never to be exhausted, they made some miserable Sculptures, and some Inscriptions; and perhaps shut up the entries into them with much care and secrecy, intending to open them upon some dream or other artifice, to give them the more reputation, which was often practised, in order to the drawing much wealth and great devotion, even to some single Relique; and a few being upon this secret, either those might have died; or by the many revolutions that hapned in *Rome*, they might have been dispersed before they made the discovery: And thus the knowledge of those places was lost, and came to be discovered by accident in the last Age, and hath ever since supplied them with an inexhaustible Magazin of Bones, which by all appearance are no other then the Bones of the *Pagan Romans*; which are now sent over the World to feed a superstition that is as blind as it proves expensive. And thus

thus the Bones of the *Roman* Slaves, or at least those of the meaner sort, are now set in Silver and Gold with a great deal of other costly garniture, and entertain the superstition of those who are willing to be deceived as well as they serve the ends of those that seek to deceive the World. But because it cannot be pretended that there was such a number of Christians at *Naples*, as could have wrought such *Catacombs*, and if it had been once thought that those were the common burial places of the ancient *Heathers*, that might have induced the world to think that the *Roman Catacombs* were no other; therefore there hath been no care taken to examine these. I thought this required a large discourse, and therefore I have dwelt perhaps a little too long on this subject. I will not enter upon a long description of that which is so well known at Mount *Vesuvio*, it had roared so loud about a Month before I came to *Naples*, that at *Naples* they could hardly sleep in the nights, and some old houses were so shaken by the Earthquake that was occasioned by this convulsion of the Hill, that they fell to the ground: And the last eruption, above fifty years ago, was so terrible, that there was no small fear in *Naples*, though it lies at the distance of seven miles from the Hill, yet the Storm was choaked under ground; for tho it smoakt much more than ordinary, yet there was no eruption: It was indeed smoaking not only in the mouth of the little Mount that is formed within the great vast that the fire hath made, but also all along the

the bottom that is between the outward mouth of this Mountain, which is four miles in compass; and that inward Hill. When one sees the mouth of this fire, and so great a part of the Hill which is covered some feet deep with Ashes and Stones of a metallick composition, that the fire throws out, he cannot but stand amazed, and wonder what can be the fuel of so lasting a burning, that hath calcined so much matter, and spewed out such prodigious quantities. It is plain there are vast Veins of Sulphur all along in this Soil, and it seems in this Mountain they run along through some Mines and Rocks, and as their slow consumption, produceth a perpetual Smoak, so when the Air within is so much rarified, that it must open it self, it throws up those masses of Metal and Rock that shut it in; but how this Fire draws in Air to nourish its Flame, is not so easily apprehended, unless there is either a conveyance of Air underground, by some undiscovered vacuity, or a more insensible transmission of Air, through the pores of the Earth. The heat of this Hill operates so much upon the Soil that lies upon it toward the foot of it, that it produceth the richest Wine about *Naples*, and it also purifieth the Air so much, that the Village at bottom is thought the best Air of the Country, so that many come from *Naples* thither for their health. *Ischia*, that is an Island not far from *Naples*, doth also sometimes spew out Fire.

On the other side of *Naples* to the West, one passeth through the Cave that pierceth the *Pausalippe*, and is four hundred and forty paces long, for I walked it on foot to take its true measure, it is twenty foot broad, and at first forty foot high; but afterwards it is but twenty foot high; the Stone cut out here is good for building, so that as this opened the way from *Puzzoli* to *Naples*, it was also a Quarry for the building of the Town: All along the way here one discovers a strange boiling within the ground, for a little beyond this grot of *Pausalippe*, as we come near the Lake of *Aniano*, there is of the one hand, a Bath occasioned by a steam that riseth so hot out of the ground, that as soon as one goeth a little into it, he finds himself all over in a sweat, which is very proper for some diseases, especially that which carries its name from *Naples*; And about twenty paces from thence, there is another little grot, that sends out a poisonous steam, that as it puts out a Candle, as soon as it cometh near it, so it infallibly killeth any living creature within a minute of time; for in half that time a dog, upon which the experiment is commonly tried, the Grot being from thence called *Grotto di Cane*, fell into a convulsion. From that one goeth to see the poor rests of *Puzzoli*, and of all that Bay that was once all about a tract of Towns, it having been the retreat of the *Romans*, during the heats of the Summer. All the rarities here have been so often and so copiously described, that I am sensible I can add nothing

thing to what is so well known. I will say nothing of the *Amphitheater*, or of *Cicero* and *Virgil's* houses for which there is nothing but a dubious Tradition; they are antient Brick buildings of the *Roman* way, and the Vaults of *Virgil's* house are still intire; The *Sulfatara* is a surprizing thing; here is a bottom out of which the force of the fire, that breaks out still in many places, in a thick steaming smoak, that is full of Brimstoue, did throw up about a hundred and fifty years ago, a vast quantity of Earth which was carried above three miles thence, and formed the Hill called *Monte Novo* upon the ruines of a Town that was overwhelmed with this eruption, which is of a very considerable heighth, they told me that there was before that time a Channel that went from the Bay into the Lake of *Averno*, of which one sees the beginnings in the Bay at some distance from the shore; it carrieth still the name of *Julio's Mole*, and is believed to have been made by *Julius Caesar*. But by the swelling of the ground upon the eruption of the *Sulfatara*, this passage is stopt, and the *Averno* is now fresh water, it is eighteen fathom deep. On the side of it is that amazing Cave, where the *Sibil* is said to have given out her inspirations: the hewing it out of the Rock, hath been a prodigious work, for the Rock is one of the hardest stones in the World, and the cave goeth in seven hundred foot long, twenty foot broad, and as I could guess eighteen foot high; and from the end of this great Gallery, there is a narrow [passage of three foot broad

broad, two hundred foot long, and seven high,
 to a little apartment, to which we go in a con-
 stant sloping descent from the great Cave ;
 here are three little Rooms: in one of them
 there are some rests of an old Mosaick , with
 which the Walls and Roof were laid over ,
 there is also a Spring of Water, and a Bath in
 which it is supposed the *Sibil* bathed her self ;
 and from this Cave it is said that there runs a
 Cave all along to *Cuma* , which is three
 long miles , but the Passage is now choakt by
 the falling in of the Rock in several places:
 this piece of Work amazed me. I did not
 much mind the popular Opinion that is easily
 received there , that all this was done by the
 Devil ; the marks of the Chizzel in all the
 parts of the Rock sheweth that this is not a
 work of Nature. Certainly they had both
 much leisure, and many hand; at their com-
 mand who set about it , and it seems to have
 been wrought out with no other design but to
 subdue the people more intirely to the conduct
 of the Priests that managed this Imposture ,
 so busie and industrious hath the ambition and
 fraud of the Priests been in all Ages and in all
 corrupt Religions. But of all the Scenes of
 Noble Objects that present themselves in the
 Bay of *Puzzoli*, the Rests of *Caligula's* Bridge
 are the most amazing ; for there are yet stand-
 ing eight or ten of the Pillars that supported
 the Arches , and of some of the Arches the
 half is yet entire. I had not a line with me to
 examine the depth of the Water where the fur-
 thest of those Pillars is built , but in Water-
 K man

man assured me it was fifty cubits. This I cannot believe, but it is certainly so deep that one can scarce imagine how it was possible to build in such a depth, and for the carrying off of the Sea that seems yet more impossible. It is a Noble Monument of the profuse and extravagant expence of a Brutal Tyrant, who made one of the vastest Bridges that ever was attempted, over three or four miles of Sea, meerly to sacrifice so great a Treasure to his vanity: As for *Agripina's* Tomb, it is no great matter, only the bas reliefs are yet entire. The marvellous Fish-Pond is a great Basin of Water wrought like a huge Temple standing upon eight and forty great Pillars all hewed out of the Rock; and they are laid over with four crusts of the old Plaister, which is now as hard as Stone; this is believed to be a work of *Nero's*; and about a quarter of a Mile from thence there is another vast work which goeth into a Rock; but at the entrance there is a noble Portico built of Pillars of Brick and as one enters into the Rock, he finds a great many Rooms regularly shaped, hewed out of the Rock, and all covered over with Plaister, which is still entire, and so white that one can hardly think that it hath not been washed over since it was first made; there are a vast number of those rooms, they are said to be a hundred; from whence this cave carried the name of the *centum Camere*: This hath been as expensive a work as it is useless, it is intitled to *Nero*, and here they say he kept his Prisoners. But there is nothing in a

this bay that is both so curious and so useful as the Baths, which seems to flow from the same reason that is the cause of these Eruptions in the Vesuvio and Sulfatara, and the Grottos formerly mentioned; that as this heat makes some Fountains there to be boiling hot, so it sends up a steam through the Rock that doth not break through the pores of the Stone where it is hard, but where the Rock is soft and spongy there the steams come through with so melting a heat, that a man is soon, as it were, dissolved in sweat; but if he stoops low in the passages that are cut in the Rock, he finds no heat, because there the Rock is hard. Those steams as they are all hot, so they are impregnated with such Minerals as they find in their way through the Rock; and near this Bath there are Galleries hewed out of the Rock, and faced with a building; in which there are, as it were, Bed-rooms made in the Walls, upon which, those that come thither, to sweat for their health, lay their Quilts and Bed-cloaths, and so come regularly out of their Sweats.

It is certain that a man can no where pass a day of his Life both with so much pleasure, and with such advantage, as he finds in this journey to *Puzzoli* and all along the Bay: but tho' anciently this was all so well built, so peopled, and so beautifully laid out, yet no where doth one see more visibly what a change Time brings upon all places: for *Naples* hath so intirely eat out this place, and drawn its Inhabitants to it, that *Puzzoli* it self is but a small Village, so there is now no other in all this Bay, which

was anciently built almost all round, for there were seven big Towns upon it. Having thus told you what I found most considerable in Naples, I cannot pass by that Noble remnant of the *Via Appia* that runs along thirty miles of the way between it and *Rome*, without making some mention of it: this high-way is twelve foot broad, all made of huge stones, most of them blew, and they are generally a foot and half large of all sides: the strength of this causeway appears in its long duration, for it hath lasted above eighteen hundred years: and is in most places for several miles together, as intricate as when it was first made: and the botches that have been made for mending such places, that have been worn out by time, shews a very visible difference between the ancient and the modern way of paving. One thing seems strange that the way is level with the earth on both sides: whereas so much weight as those Stones carry should have sunk the ground under them by its pressure: Besides that the Earth, especially in low grounds, receives a constant increase chiefly by the dust which the Winds or Brooks carry down from the Hills, both which reasons should make a more sensible difference between those ways and the soil on both sides: and this makes me apt to believe that antiently those ways were a little raised above the level of the ground, and that a course of so many Ages hath now brought them to an equality: Those ways were chiefly made for such as go on foot: for as nothing is more pleasant then to walk along

along them, so nothing is more inconvenient for Horses and all sorts of carriage, and indeed Mulets are the only beasts of burthen that can hold out long in this Road, which beats all Horses after they have gone it a little while. There are several rests of Roman Antiquities at the Mole of *Cajeta*; but the Isle of *Caprea*, now called *Crapa*, which is a little way into the Sea off from *Naples*, gave me a strange Idea of *Tiberius's* Reign, since it is hard to tell whether it was more extraordinary to see a Prince abandon the best Seats and Palaces of *Italy*, and shut himself up in a little Island, in which I was told there was a Tradition of seven little Palaces that he built in it; or to see so vast a body as the Roman Empire so governed by such a Tyrannical Prince; at such a distance from the chief Scene, so that all might have been reversed long before that the News of it could have been brought to him. And as there is nothing more wonderful in Story, then to see so vast a State that had so great a sense of liberty, subdued by so brutal and so voluptuous a man as *Anthony*, and so raw a youth as *Augustus*; so the wonder is much improved when we see a Prince at a hundred and fifty miles distance, shut up in an Island, carry the Reins of so great a body in his hand, and turn it which way he pleased.

But now I come to *Rome*, which as it was once the Empress of the World in a succession of many Ages, so hath in it at present more

curious things to entertain the attention of a Traveller, than any other place in *Europe*. On the side of *Tuscany*, the entry into *Rome* is very surprizing to strangers, for one cometh along for a great many miles, upon the Remains of the *Via Flammia*, which is not indeed so entire as the *Via Appia*; yet there is enough left to raise a just Idea of the *Roman* Greatness, who laid such Cause-ways all *Italy* over. And within the Gate of the *Porta di Populo*, there is a Noble Obelisk, a vast Fountain, two fine little Churches, like two Twins, resembling one another, as well as placed near one another, and on several hands one sees a long Vista of Streets. There is not a Town in these parts of the World where the Churches, Covents and Palaces are so Noble, and where the other Buildings are so mean, which indeed discovers very visibly the Misery under which the *Romans* groan. The Churches of *Rome* are so well known that I will not adventure on any description of them, and indeed I had too transient a view of them to make it with that degree of exactness which the Subject requires. *St. Peter's* alone would make a big Book, not to say a long Letter. Its Length, Heighth and Breadth are all so exactly proportioned, and the Eye is so equally possessed with all these, that the whole, upon the first view, doth not appear so vast as it is found to be upon a more particular attention: and as the four Pillars upon which the Cupulo rises, are of such a prodigious bigness that one would think they were strong enough

enough to bear any superstructure whatsoever, so when one climbs up to the top of that vast height, he wonders what Foundation can bear so huge a weight; for as the Church is of a vast height, so the Cupulo rises four hundred and fifteen big steps above the Root of the Church. In the height of the Concave of this Cupulo, there is a representation, that though it can hardly be seen from the floor below, unless one hath a good sight, and so it doth not perhaps give much scandal, yet it is a gross indication of the Idolatry of that Church; for the Divinity is there pictured as an ancient man compassed about with Angels. I will say nothing of the great Altar, of the Chair of *St. Peter*, of the great Tombs; of which the three chief are *Paul* the III. *Urban* the VIII. and *Alexander* the VII. nor of the vast Vaults under this Church, and the Remains of Antiquity that are reserved in them; nor will I undertake a description of the adjoyning Palace, where the Painting of the Corridori, and of many of the Rooms by *Raphael* and *Michael Angelo* are so rich, that one is sorry to see work of that value laid on fresco, and which must by consequence wear out too soon, as in several places it is almost quite lost already. I could not but observe in the *Sala Regia* that is before the famous Chappel of *Sisto V.* and that is all painted in Fresco, one Corner that represents the Murther of the renowned Admiral *Chastillon*, and that hath written under it those Words, *Rex Colimii Necem probat.* The vast

length of the Gallery on one side : and of the Library in another do surprize one ; the Gardens have many Statues of a most excessive value , and some good Fountains ; but the Gardens are ill entertained both here and in the Palace on the Quirinal. And indeed in most of the Palaces of *Rome* if there were but a small cost laid out to keep all in good case that is brought together at so vast a charge , they would make another sort of shew , and be looked at with much more pleasure : in the apartments of *Rome* there are a great many things that offend the sight. The Doors are generally mean , and the Locks meaner , except in the Palace of Prince *Borghese* , where as there is the vastest Collection of the best pieces , and of the hands of the greatest Masters that is in all Europe , so the Doors and Locks give not that distaste to the Eye , that one finds elsewhere. The Flooring of the Palaces is all of Brick , which is so very mean , that one sees the disproportion that is between the Floors and the rest of the Room , not without a sensible perception and dislike. It is true they say their Air is so cold and moist in Winter that they cannot pave with Marble ; and the heat is sometimes so great in Summer , that Flooring of Wood would crack with heat , as well as be eat up by the vermin that would nestle in it. But if they kept in their great Palaces servants to wash their Floors , with that care that is used in *Holland* , where the Air is moister ; and the

the Climate is more productive of Vermine, they would not find such effects from wooden Floors, as they pretend. In a word there are none that lay out so much wealth all at once, as the *Italians* do upon the building and finishing of their Palaces and Gardens, and that afterwards bestow so little on the preserving of them: another thing I observed in their Palaces; there is indeed a great series of Noble rooms one within another, of which their apartments are composed, but I did not find, at the end of the apartments, where the Bed-Chamber is, such a disposition of Rooms for back-stairs, dressing-rooms, closets, servants rooms, and other conveniencies as are necessary for accomodating the Apartment. It is true this is not so necessary for an Apartment of State, in which magnificence is more considered than convenience; but I found the same want in those Apartments in which they lodged; so that notwithstanding all the riches of their Palaces; it cannot be said that they are well lodged in them, and their Gardens are yet less understood, and worse kept than their Palaces. It is true the *Villa Borghese* ought to be excepted where as there is a prodigious collection of bas reliefs, with which the Walls are, as it were, covered all over, that are of a vast value; so the Statues within, of which some are of Porphyry, and others of Touchstone, are amazing things: The whole grounds of this Park, which is about three miles in compass; and in which there are six or seven lodges, are laid out so sweetly, that I thought

I was in an English Park when I walked over it. The *Villa Pamphilia* is better situated upon a higher ground, and hath more Water-works, and twice the extent of the other in Soil, but neither doth the House nor Statues approach to the Riches of the other, nor are the grounds so well laid out and so well kept. But for the Furniture of the Palaces of *Rome*, the publick Apartments are all covered over with Pictures, and for those Apartments in which they lodge, they are generally furnished either with red Velvet, or red Damask, with a broad Gold Galloon at every Breadth of the Stuff, and a Gold Fringe at Top and Bottom, but there is very little Tapestry in *Italy*.

I have been carried into all this Digression, from the general View that I was giving you of the Pope's Palace. I named one part of it which will engage me into a new digression, as it well deserves one, and that is the Library of the Vatican: The Case is great, but that which is lodged in it is much greater; for here is a Collection of Books that filleth a man's Eye: There is first a great Hall, and at the end of it there runs out on both sides, two Galleries of so vast a length, that though the half of them is already furnished with Books, yet one would hope that there is room left for more new Books than the World will ever produce. The *Heidelberg*-Library stands by it self, and filleth the one side of the Gallery, as the Duke of *Urban's* Library of Manuscripts filleth the other. But tho' these last are very fair and beautiful, yet they are not of such Antiquity as those

those of *Heidellerg*: When it appeared that I was come from *England*, King *Henry* the 8th's Book of the Seven Sacraments, with an Inscription writ upon it with his own Hand, to Pope *Lea* the X. was shewed me; together with a Collection of some Letters that he writ to *Anne Bolen*, of which some are in *English*, and some in *French*. I that knew his Hand, well saw clearly that they were no Forgeries. There are not many *Latin* Manuscripts of great Antiquity in this Library; some few of *Virgil's* I saw writ in Capitals. But that which took up almost half of one day that I spent at one time in this place, related to the present dispute that is on foot between Mr. *Shelstrate* the Library-keeper, and Mr. *Maimbourg*, concerning the Council of *Constance*. The two Points in debate are the words of the Decree made in the fourth Session, and the Pope's Confirmation. In the fourth Session, according to the *French* Manuscripts, a Decree was made, subjecting the Pope, and all other Persons whatsoever, to the Authority of the Council, and to the Decrees it was to make, and to the Reformation it intended to establish both in the Head and the Members: which as it implies that the Head was corrupted and needed to be reformed, so it sets the Council so directly above the Pope, that this Session being confirmed by the Pope, putteth those who assert the Pope's Infallibility, to no small straits; For if Pope *Martin* that approved this Decree was infallible, then this Decree is good still; and if he was not infallible, no other Pope was

infallible : To all this *Schelftrat* answers from
 his Manuscripts that the Words of a Reforma-
 tion, in Head and Members, are not in the
 Decree of that Session : and he did shew me se-
 veral Manuscripts, of which two were evident-
 ly writ during the sitting of the Council, and
 were not at all dashed, in which these words
 were not. I know the Hand and way of Wri-
 ting of that Age too well to be easily mistaken
 in my Judgment concerning those Manuscripts;
 but if those Words are wanting, there are
 other Words in them that seem to be much
 stronger for the superiority of the Council
 above that Pope. For it is Decreed that Popes,
 and all other Persons, were bound to submit
 to the Decisions of the Council, as to Faith:
 which Words are not in the *French* Manu-
 scripts: Upon this I told Mr. *Schelftrat* that
 I thought the Words in these Manuscripts were
 stronger than the other: since the Word Reforma-
 tion, as it was used in the time of that Coun-
 cil, belonged chiefly to the correcting of abuses,
 it being often applied to the regulations that
 were made in the Monastick Orders, when
 they were brought to a more exact observation
 of the Rule of their Order: So tho' the Coun-
 cil had decreed a Reformation both of Head and
 Members, I do not see that this would import
 more than the Papacy had fallen into some
 Disorders that needed a Reformation: and this
 is not denied even by those who assert the Popes
 Infallibility: but a Submission to Points of
 Faith, that is expressly asserted in the *Roman*
 Manuscripts, is a much more positive evidence
 against

against the Popes Infallibility: and the word
 Faith is not capable of so large a sense as may
 be justly ascribed to Reformation. But this
 difference, in so main a point between Manu-
 scripts concerning so late a transaction, gave
 me an occasion to reflect on the vast uncer-
 tainty of tradition, especially of matters that
 are at a great distance from us; when those
 that were so lately transacted, are so differently
 represented in Manuscripts, and in which,
 both those of Paris and Rome seem to carry
 all possible evidences of sincerity. As for the
 Popes confirmation of that Decree it is true by
 a General Bull, Pope Martin confirmed the
 Council of Constance to such a period; but
 besides that he made a particular Bull, as
 Schelstrat assured me, in which he enumera-
 ted all the Decrees that he confirmed, and
 among those this Decree concerning the supe-
 riority of the Council is not named; this
 seemed to be of much more importance, and
 therefore I desired to see the Original of the Bull:
 for there seem to be just reasons to apprehend
 a forgery here: He promised to do his in-
 deavours, tho he told me that would not be
 easie, for the Bulls were strictly kept; and
 the next day when I came, hoping to see it,
 I could not be admitted: but he assured me
 that if that had not been the last day of my
 stay at Rome, he would have procured a
 Warrant for my seeing the Original: so this
 is all I can say as to the authenticalness of
 that Bull: But supposing it to be genuine, I
 could not agree to Mr. Schelstrat that the Ge-
 neral

netal Bull of Confirmation, ought to be limited to the other that enumerates the particular Decrees: but since that particular Bull was never discovered till he hath found it out, it seems it was secretly made, and did not pass according to the forms of the Consistory, and was a fraudulent thing of which no notice was to be made in that Age, and therefore in all the Dispute that followed in the Council of *Basil* between the Pope and the Council, upon this very point, no mention was ever made of it by either side: And thus it can have no force, unless it be to discover the Artifice and Fraud of that Court: That at the same time in which the necessity of their Affairs obliged the Pope to confirm the Decrees of the Council, he contrived a secret Bull, which in another Age might be made use of, to weaken the Authority of the General Confirmation that he gave: and therefore a Bull that doth not pass in due Form, and is not promulgated, is of no Authority: And so this pretended Bull cannot limit the other Bull. There were some other things, relating to this Debate, that were shewed me by Mr. Schelstrat, but these being the most important, I mention them only. I will not give you here a large account of the learned Men at *Rome*, *Bellori* is deservedly famous for his knowledge of the *Greek* and *Egyptian* Antiquities, and for all that belongs to the Mythologies and Superstitions of the *Heathens*, and hath a Closet richly furnished with things relating to those Matters, *Fabretti* is justly celebrated for his Understanding

ing of the old *Roman* Architecture and Fabricks. *Padre Fabri* is the chief Honour of the Jesuits Colledge, and is much above the common rate both for Philosophy, Mathematicks, and Church History. And he to whom I was the most obliged, Abbot *Nazari* hath so general a view of the several parts of learning, who he hath chiefly applied himself to Philosophy and Mathematicks, and is a man of so engaging a Civility, and used my self in so particular a manner, that I owe him, as well as those others whom I have mentioned, and whom I had the Honour to see, all the acknowledgments of esteem and gratitude that I can possibly make them.

One sees in Cardinal *d'Estres* all the Advantages of a high Birth, great Parts, a generous Civility, and a measure of Knowledge far above what can be expected from a person of his rank; but as he gave a noble Protection to one of the learndest men that this Age hath produced, Mr. *Launoy* who lived many Years with him, so it is visible that he made a great Progress by the Conversation of so extraordinary a Person; and as for theological Learning there is now none of the Colledg equal to him. Cardinal *Howard* is too well known in *England* to need any Character from me. The elevation of his present Condition hath not in the least changed him; he hath all the sweetness and gentleness of Temper that we saw in him in *England*, and he retains the unaffected simplicity and humility of a Frier amidst all the Dignity of the Purple; and as he sheweth all the generous

care

care and concern for his Countrey-men that they can expect from him; so I met with so much of it in so many obliging marks of his goodness for my self, as went far beyond a common Civility, that I cannot enough acknowledge it. I was told the Pope's Confessor was a very extraordinary man for the Oriental Learning, which is but little known in *Rome*: He is a Master of the *Arabick* Tongue, and hath writ as Abbot *Nazari* told me, the learnedest Book against the Mahometan Religion, that the World hath yet seen, but it is not yet Printed: He is not so much esteemed in *Rome* as he would be elsewhere, for his Learning is not in vogue, and the School-Divinity and Casuistical Learning, being that for which Divines are most esteemed there; he whose Studies lead him another way, is not so much valued as he ought to be, and perhaps the small account that the Pope makes of Learned men, turns somewhat upon the Confessor, for it is certain that this is a Reign in which Learning is very little encouraged.

Upon the general Contempt that all the *Romans* have for the present Pontificat, one made a pleasant Reflection to me, he said, those Popes that intended to raise their Families, as they saw the Censure that this brought upon them, so they studied to lessen it by other things that might soften the Spirits of the People. No man did more for beautifying *Rome*, for finishing *St. Peters*, and the Library, and for furnishing *Rome* with Water, than Pope *Paul* the V. tho' at the same

same time he did not forget his Family ; and
 though the other Popes that have raised great
 families, have not done this to so eminent a
 degree as he did, yet there are many Remains
 of their Magnificence, whereas those Popes
 that have not raised Families, have it seems
 thought that alone was enough to maintain
 their Reputation, and so they have not done
 much either to recommend their Government
 to their Subjects, or their Reign to Posterity;
 and it is very plain that the present Pope
 doth no great Care of this. His Life hath
 been certainly very innocent, and free of all
 those publick scandals that make a noise in
 the World, and there is at present a regula-
 cy in *Rome* that deserveth great commenda-
 tion; for publick Vices are not to be seen
 there: His personal Sobriety is also singular.
 He assured me that the Expence of his Ta-
 ble did not amount to a Crown a day, tho'
 it is indeed short of *Sisto V.* who gave or-
 der to his Steward never to exceed five and
 twenty Bajokes, that is eighteen pence a day
 for his Diet. The Pope is very careful of his
 health, and doth never expose it; for upon
 the least Disorder he shuts himself up in his
 chamber, and often keepeth his Bed for the
 space of many days; but his Go-
 vernment is severe, and his Subjects are ru-
 ing. And here one thing cometh into my Mind,
 which perhaps is not ill grounded, that the po-
 tency of a Nation, not only dispeoples it,
 but driving the People out of it, but by weak-
 ning

ning the natural Fertility of the Subjects, for as Men and Women well cloathed, and well fed, that are not exhausted with perpetual Labor, and with the tearing Anxieties that Want brings with it, must be much more lively than those that are pressed with Want; it is very likely that the one must be much more disposed to propagate than the other, and this appeared more evident to me, when I compared the Fruitfulness of *Geneva* and *Switzerland*, with the Barrenness that reigns over all *Italy*. I saw two extraordinary instances of the copious Productions of *Geneva*. Mr. *Tronchin* that was Professor of Divinity and Father to the judicious and worthy Professor of the same Name, that is now deceased at the Age of seventy six Years, and had a hundred and fifteen persons all alive, that he either descended from him, or by marriage with those that descended from him, called him Father. And Mr. *Calendrin* a pious and laborious Preacher of that Town, that is descended from the Family of the *Calendrini*; who receiving the Reformation about a hundred and fifty Years ago, left *Lucca* their Native City with the *Turretini*; the *Diodati*, and the *Bourlamachi*, and some others that came and settled at *Geneva*: He is now but seventy and forty Years old, and yet he hath a hundred and five persons that are descended of his Brothers and Sisters, or married to them, so that if he liveth but to eighty, and his Family multiplieth as it hath done; he may see some hundreds that will be in the same

ation to him ; but such things as these are not
to be found in *Italy*.

There is nothing that delights a stranger
more in *Rome*, then to see the great Foun-
tains of Water that are almost in all the cor-
ners of it : That old aquaduct which *Paul*
the V. restored cometh from a Collection of
sources, five and thirty Miles distant from
Rome, that runs all the way upon an aque-
duct in a Channel that is vaulted, and is liker
River than a Fountain : It breaketh out in
several Fountains, of which some give
water about a Foot Square. That of *Sixtus*
the V. the great Fountain of *Aqua Travi*,
that hath yet no Decoration, but dischargeth
prodigious quantity of Water. The glo-
rious Fountain of the *Piazza Navona* that
hath an air of greatness in it that surprizeth
the Fountain in the *Piazza de Spagna*,
those before *S. Peters*, and the *Palazzo Far-*
nese with many others, furnish *Rome* so
abundantly, that almost every private House
hath a Fountain that runs continually : All
these I say are noble Decorations, that carry an
usefulness with them that cannot be enough
commended : and gives a much greater *Idea*
of those who have taken care to supply this
City, with one of the chiefest Pleasures and con-
veniences of Life, then of others who have laid
out Millions meerly to bring Quantities of
Water to give the Eye a little Diversion, which
would have been laid out much more nobly
and usefully, and would have more effectual-
ly eternized their Fame, if they had been
im-

imploied as the *Romans* did their Treasures in furnishing great Towns with Water.

There is an universal Civility that reigns among all sorts of People at *Rome*, which in a great measure flows from their Government for every man being capable of all the advancements of that State, since a simple Ecclesiastic may become one of the *Monsignori*: and one of these may be a Cardinal, and one of these may be chosen Pope, this makes every man behave himself towards all other persons with an exactness of respect: for no man knows what any other may grow to. But this makes professions of esteem and kindness so promiscuously to all sorts of persons, that one ought not to build too much on them. The conversation of *Rome* is generally upon News for tho' there is no News Printed there, yet in the several Antichambers of the Cardinals (where they make any considerable figure, there are Assemblies of those that make their Court to them; one is sure to hear all the news of *Europe* together with many Speculations upon what passeth. At the Queen of *Sweden's* all that relateth to *Germany* or the North is ever to be found, and that Princess that must ever reign among all that have a true taste either of Wit or Learning, hath still in her drawing Room the best Court of the Strangers, and her Civility together with the vast variety with which she furnisheth her Conversation, maketh her to be the chief of all the living Rarities that one sees in *Rome*; I will not use her own Word

to my self, which was, that she now grew to
 one of the Antiquities of Rome. The Am-
 bassadors of Crowns, who live here in another
 form than in any other Court, and the Car-
 dinals and Prelates of several Nations, that
 all meet and center here, maketh that there
 more news in Rome, then any where: For
 priests and the men of Religious Orders, write
 larger and more particular Letters, than any
 other sort of men. But such as apply themsel-
 ves to make their Court here, are condemned
 to a loss of time that had need be well recom-
 penced, for it is very great. As for one that
 studies Antiquities, Pictures, Statues, or
 Musick, there is more entertainment for him at
 Rome, then in all the rest of Europe, but
 he hath not a taste of these things, he will
 soon be weary of a place where the Conversa-
 tion is alwaies general, and where there is little
 sincerity or openness practised, and by conse-
 quence, where friendship is little understood.
 The Women here begin to be a little more
 conversable, tho a Nation naturally jealous,
 will hardly allow a great liberty in a City
 that is composed of Ecclesiasticks; who being
 denied the priviledge of Wives of their own,
 are suspected of being sometimes too bold
 with the Wives of others: The liberties
 were taken in the Constable of Naples's
 place, had indeed disgusted the Romans much
 that freedom, which had no bounds.
 The Dutchess of Bracciano that is a French
 woman, hath by the exactness of her de-
 tachment, amidst all the innocent Freedoms
 of

of a noble Conversation, recovered in a great measure, the Credit of those Liberties that Ladies, beyond the Mountains practise with a'l the strictness of Vertue; For she receiveth Visits at publick Hours, and in publick Rooms, and by the liveliness of her Conversation, maketh that her Court is the pleasantest Assembly of Strangers, that is to be found in any of the Palaces of the *Italians* at *Rome*.

I will not ingage in a description of *Rome* either ancient or modern, this hath been done so oft, and with such exactness, that nothing can be added to what hath been already published. It is certain that when one is in the Capitol, and sees those poor Rests of what once was, he is surprized to see a Building of so great a Fame sunk so low, that one can scarce imagine that it was once a Castle, situated upon a Hill able to hold out against a Siege of the *Gauls*: The *Tarpeian* Rock is now of so small a fall, that a Man would think it no great matter for his Diversion, to leap over it: and the shape of the Ground hath not been so much altered on one side, as to make us think it is very much changed on the other. For *Severus's* Triumphal Arch, which is at the Foot of the Hill on the other side, is not now buried above the Foot within the Ground, as the vast Amphitheatre of *Titus* is not above three Foot sunk under the level of the Ground. Within the Capitol we see many Noble Remnants of Antiquity, but none is more glorious, as well as more useful, then the Tables of their Consuls which

upon the Walls: and the Inscription on the
Columna Rostrata in the time of the first
 Punic War, is without doubt the most va-
 luable Antiquity in *Rome*. From this all a-
 long the sacred way, one findeth such Remnants
 of old *Rome* in the Ruines of the Temples,
 the Triumphal Arches, in the *Portico's*
 and other Remains of that Glorious Body,
 that as one cannot see these too often, so every
 time one sees them, they kindle in him vast I-
 maginations of that Republic, and make him re-
 flect on that which he learned in his youth
 with great pleasure. From the heighth of the
 convents of *Araceli* a man hath a full view
 of all the extent of *Rome*, but literally it is
 now *seges ubi Troja fuit*; for the parts of the
 city, that were most inhabited anciently, are
 those that are now laid in great Gardens, or,
 they call them, Vineyards, of which some
 are half a mile in compass: The vastness of
 the Roman magnificence and luxury, is that
 which passeth imagination; the prodigious
 amphitheater of *Titus*, that could conveni-
 ently receive eighty five thousand spectators;
 the great extent of the *Circus Maximus*; the
 Baths where the Waters that furnished *Titus's*
 Baths, and above all *Dioclesian's* Baths, tho built
 when the Empire was in its decay, are so far
 above all modern buildings, that there is not
 much as room for a comparison. The extent
 of those baths is above half a mile in compass:
 the vastness of the rooms in which the Bathers
 might swim of which the *Carthasians* Church,
 that yet remains intire, is one, and the many
 great

great Pillars all of one stone, of Marble beautifully spotted, are things of which these latter Ages are not capable. The Beauty of their Temples, and of the Portico's before them, is amazing, chiefly that of the *Rotunda*, where the Fabrick without looketh as mean, being only Brick, as the Architecture is bold: for it riseth up in a Vault, and yet at the top there is an open left of thirty feet in Diameter which, as it is the only Window of the Church, so it filleth it with Light, and is the hardiest piece of Architecture that ever was made. The Pillars of the Portico are also the noblest in *Rome*, they are the highest and biggest that one can see any where all of one Stone: as the numbers of those ancient Pillars with which not only many of the Churches are beautified, chiefly *St. Mary Maggiore*, and *St. John in the Lateran*, but with which even private Houses are adorned, and of the Fragments of which there are such multitudes in all the Streets of *Rome*, giveth a great Idea of the Expensiveness of the old *Romans* in their Building, for the hewing and fetching a few of the Pillars, must have cost more than whole Nations do now; since most of them were brought from *Greece*: Many of these Pillars are of *Porphiry*, others of *Jasp*, others of *granite* Marble, but the greatest number is of white Marble: The two Columns *Trajan's* and *Antonius*: The two Horses that are in *Mount Cavallo*, and the other two Horses in the *Capitol*, which have not indeed the same postures and motion of the other, The

horse that as is believed carried Marcus Aurelius; the remains of Nero's Colossus, the Temple of Bacchus near the Catacomb of S. Agnes, which is the intirest and the least altered of all the ancient Temples: The great Temple of Peace; those of the Sun and Moon: that of Romulus and Remus (which I considered as the ancientest Fabrick that is now left, for it is little and simple, and standeth in such a place, that when Rome grew so costly, it could not have been let alone unchanged, if it had not been that it was revered for its Antiquity) the many other Porrico's, the Arches of Severus, of Titus, of Constantine, in the last of which one sees that the sculpture of his age was much sunck from what it had been, only in the top there are some bas-reliefs that are clearly of a much ancientser time, and of a better manner. And that which exceedeth all the rest, the many great Aqueducts that come from all hands and run over a vast distance, are things which a man cannot oft enough, if he would form in himself a just Idea of the vastness of that Republic, or rather Empire; There are many Statues and Pillars, and other Antiquities of great value dug up in all the quarters of Rome these last hundred and fourscore years, since Pope Leo the X's time: who as he was the greatest Patron of learning and Arts, that perhaps ever was, so was the generousest Prince that ever reigned; and it was he that first set his foot the inquiring into the Riches of Old Rome, that lay, till his time, for the most part, hid under ground; and indeed if he had been less scandalous in his Impiety and Atheism,

theism, of which neither he nor his Court were so much as ashamed, he had been one of the most celebrated persons of any Age. Soon after him Pope *Paul* the III. gave the ground of the Monte Palatino to his Family: But I was told that this large piece of ground, in which one should look for the greatest collection of the Antiquities of the highest value, since this is the ruine of the Palace of the Roman Emperors, hath never been yet searched into with any exactness: So that when a curious Prince cometh that is willing to imploy many hands in digging up and down this Hill, we may expect new Scenes of Roman Antiquities. But all this matter would require Volumes, and therefore I have only named these things, because I can add nothing to those copious descriptions that have been so oft made of them. Nor will I say any thing of the modern Palaces or the Ornaments of them, either in Pictures or Statues, which are things that carry one so far, that it is not easie to give bounds to the descriptions into which one findeth himself carried, when he once enters upon so fruitful a subject. The number of the Palaces is great, and every one of them hath enough to fix the attention of a Traveller, till a new one drives the former out of his thoughts: It is true the *Palestrina*, the *Borghese*, and the *Farnese* have somewhat in them that leave an impression which no new object can wear out: and as the last hath a noble square before it with two great Fountains in it, so the Statue of *Hercules* and the Bull that are below, and the Gallery above stairs are unva-

inable; the Roof of the Gallery is one of the best pieces of Painting that is extant, being all of Carrachio's hand, and there are in that Gallery the greatest number of heads of the Greek Philosophers and Poets that I ever saw together: That of Homer and that of Socrates were the two that struck me most, chiefly the latter, which as it is, without dispute, a true Antick, so it carrieth in it all the characters that Plato and Xenophon give us of Socrates; the flat nose, the broad face, the simplicity of look, and the mean appearance which that great Philosopher made, so that I could not return oft enough to look upon it, and was delighted with this more then with all the wonders of the Bull, which is indeed a Rock of Marble cut out into a whole Scene of Statues; but as the History of it is not well known so there are such faults in the sculpture, that tho it is all extream fine, yet one seeth it hath not the exactness of the best times. As for the Churches & Convents of Rome, as the number, the vastness, the riches both of Fabrick, Furniture, Painting and other Ornaments amaze one, so here again a stranger is lost; and the Convent that one seeth last, is always the most admired: I confesse the Minerva, which is the Dominicans, where the Inquisition sitteth, is that which maketh the most sensible impression upon one that passeth at Rome, for an Heretic, tho except one committeth great follies he is in no danger there, and the poverty that reigns in that City maketh them find their interest so much in using strangers well, what-

soever their Religion may be that no man needs be afraid there: And I have more then ordinary reason to acknowledge this who having ventured to go thither, after all the liberty that I had taken to write my thoughts freely both of the Church and See of Rome, and was known by all with whom I conversed there, yet met with the highest civilities possible among all sorts of people, and in particular both among the English and Scottish Jesuites, tho they knew well enough that I was no friend to their Order.

In the Gallery of the English Jesuits among the Pictures of their Martyrs, I did not meet with Garnet; for perhaps that name is so well known, that they would not have exposed a Picture, with such a name on it, to all strangers, yet Oldcorn, being a name less known, is hung there among their Martyrs, tho he was as clearly convicted of the Gunpowder Treason, as the other was: and it seemed a little strange to me to see that a time in which, for other reasons the writers of that Communion have not thought fit, to deny the truth of that Conspiracy a Jesuit convicted of the blackest crime that ever was projected, should be reckoned among their Martyrs. I saw likewise there the Original of these Emblematical Prophecies, relating to England, that the Jesuits have had at Rome near sixty years, and of which I had some time ago procured a Copy, so I found my Copy was true. I hapned to be at Rome during **St. Gregory's** Fair and Feast, which lasted

lasted several daies. In his Church the Host was exposed: and from that, all that came thither, went to the Chappel that was once his House, in which his Statue and the Table where he served the poor, are preserved: I saw such vast numbers of people there, that one should have thought all Rome was got together. They all kneeled down to his Statue, and after a prayer said to it, they kissed his foot, and every one touched the Table with his Beads, as hoping to draw some vertue from it. I will add nothing of the several Obelisks and Pillars that are in Rome, of the celebrated Chappels that are in some of the great Churches, in particular those of Sixtus the V. and Paul the V. in Santa Maria Maggiore, of the Water works in the Quirinal, the Vatican, and in many of the Vineyards: Nor will I go out of Rome to describe Frescati, (for Tivoly I did not see) The young Prince Borghese, who is indeed one of the glories of Rome as well for his learning as for his vertue, did me the Honour to carry me thither with those two learned Abbots Fabretti and Nazari, and entertained me with a magnificence that became him better to give then me to receive. The Water-works in the Aldobrandin Palace have a magnificence in them beyond all that ever I saw in France, the mixture of Wind with the Water, and the Thunders and Storms that this maketh is noble: The Water-works of the Ludovisio, and the Monte Dragone, have likewise a

greatness in them that is natural, and indeed the riches that one meets with in all places within doors in Italy, and the poverty that one seeth every where abroad are the most unsuitable things imaginable: but it is very likely that a great part of their moyable Wealth will be ere long carried into France; for as soon as any Picture or Statue of great value is offered to be sold, those that are employed by the King of France, do presently buy it up, so that as the King hath already, the greatest collection of Pictures that is in Europe, he will very probably in a few years more, bring together the chief Treasures of Italy.

I have now given you an account of all that appeared most remarkable to me in Rome. I shall to this add a very extraordinary piece of Natural History that fell out there within these two years, which I had first from those two learned Abbots Fabretti and Nazari, and that was afterwards more authentically confirmed to me by Cardinal Howard, who was one of the Congregation of Cardinals that examined and judged the matter. There were two Nuns near Rome, one as I remember was in the City, and the other not far from it, who, after they had been for some years in a Nunnery, perceived a very strange change in Nature, and that their Sex was altered, which grew by some degrees a total alteration in one: and tho' the other was not so entire a change, yet it was visible she was more Man than Woman, upon this the matter was looked into: That
which

which naturally offereth it self here, is that these two had been alwaies what they then appeared to be; but that they had gone into a Nunnery in a disguise to gratifie a brutal appetite. But to this, when I proposed it, answer was made, that as the breasts of a Woman that remained still, did in a great measure shake off that Objection, so the proofs were given so fully of their having been real females that there was no doubt left of that, nor had they given any sort of scandal in the change of their Sex; And if there had been any room left to suspect a cheat or disguise, the proceedings would have been more severe and more secret: and these persons would have been burnt, or at least put to death in some terrible manner. Some Physitians and Chyrurgians were appointed to examin the matter, and at last, after a long and exact inquiry, they were judged to be absolved from their Vows, and were dismissed from the obligation of a Religious life, and required to go in mens habit. One of them was a Valet de Chambre to a Roman Marquess, when I was there; I heard of this matter only two daies before I left Rome, so that I had not time to inquire after it more particularly; but I judged it so extraordinary that I thought it was worth communicating it to so curious an Inquirer into nature.

And since I am upon the subject of the changes that have been made in nature, I shall add one of another sort that I examined

while I was at *Geneva*: There is a Minister of *S. Gervais*, Mr. *Gody*, who hath a Daughter, that is now sixteen years old? Her Nurse had an extraordinary thickness of Hearing, at a year old, the Child spoke all those little words that Children begin usually to learn at that Age, but she made no progress: yet this was not observed, till it was too late, and as she grew to be two years old, they perceived then that she had lost her hearing, and was so deaf that ever since though she hears great Noises, yet she hears nothing that one can speak to her. It seems while the Milk of her Nurse was more abundant, and that the Child suckt more moderately the first year, those Humors in the Blood and Milk had not that effect on her, that appeared after she came to suck more violently: and that her Nurses Milk being in less quantity, was thicker, and more charged with that Vapour that occasioned the Deafness. But this Child hath by observing the motions of the Mouths and Lips of others, acquired so many words that out of these she hath formed a sort of Jargon in which she can hold conversation whole days with those that can speak her own Language. I could understand some of her Words, but could not comprehend a period, for it seemed to be a confused Noise: She knows nothing that is said to her, unless she seeth the motion of their Mouths that speak to her; so that in the Night, when it is necessary to speak to her, they must light a Candle: Only one thing

thing appeared the strangest part of the whole Narration : She hath a Sister with whom she hath practised her Language more than with any other : and in the night by laying her hand on her Sisters mouth, she can perceive by that, what she saies, and so can discourse with her in the night. It is true her Mother told me that this did not go far, and that she found not only some short period in this manner, but it did not hold out very long : thus this young Woman without any pains taken on her, hath meerly by a natural sagacity found out a method of holding discourse, that doth in a great measure lessen the misery of her Deafness. I examined this matter critically, but only the Sister was not present, so that I could not see how the conversation past between them in the dark.

But before I give over writing concerning this place, I cannot hinder my self from giving you an account of a conversation that I had with one of the most Celebrated persons that lives in it. I was talking concerning the Credit that the Order of the Jesuites had every where; It was said that all the World mistrusted them, and yet by a strange sort of contradiction all the World trusted them, and tho' it was well known that every Jesuite was truer to the Interests of his Order than he could be to to the Interests of any Prince whatsoever, yet those Princes that would be very careful not to suffer Spies to come into their Courts, or into their Councils suffered those Spies to come into their Breasts and Consciences.

and

and tho Princes were not generally very tender in those parts, yet as they had oft as much guilt so they had sometimes as much fear of other People, which a dextrous spy knew well how to manage. Upon which that person that pretended to be a zealous Catholick added, that for their part they considered only the Character that the Church gave to a Priest; and if the Church qualified him to do the functions of a Priest, they thought it very needless to enquire after other personal qualities, which were but common things, whereas the other was all Divine. On the contrary they thought it was so much the better to have to doe with a poor ignorant Priest: for then they had to do only with the Church and not with the man. Pursuant to this that persons Confessor was the greatest and the most notorious blockhead that could be found, and when they were asked why they made use of so weak a man, they answered because they could not find a weaker: and when ever they found one better qualified that way, if it were a groom or a footman that got into Priests Orders, they would certainly make use of him. For they would ask counsell of a Friend; but they knew no other use of a Confessor, but to confesse to him and to receive absolution from him: and in so doing they pretended they acted as became a true Catholick, that considered only the power of the Church in the Priest, without regarding any thing else.

So far have I entertained you with the
Short

short ramble that I made, which was too short
 to deserve the name of travelling, and there-
 fore the Inquiries or observations that I could
 make, must be received with the abatement
 that ought to be made for so short a stay:
 and all will be of a piece, when the remarks
 are as slight, as the abode I made in the places
 through which I past was short. I have a-
 voided the troubling you with things that
 are commonly known, so if I have not en-
 tertained you with a long recital of ordina-
 ry matters, yet I have told you nothing
 but what I saw and knew to be true, or that I
 had from such hands, that I have very good
 reason to believe it: and I fancy that the
 things which made the greatest impression
 on my self, will be acceptably received by
 you, to whom, as upon many accounts,
 I owe all the Expressions of esteem and grati-
 tude that I can ever pay; so I had a more
 particular reason that determin'd me to give
 you, so full an account of all I saw and ob-
 served: for as you were pleas'd at part-
 ing to do me the Honour to desire me
 to communicate to you such things as appea-
 red most remarkable to me, so I found such a
 vast advantage in many places, but more
 particularly at Venice, Rome and Naples, r
 by the happiness I have of being known to
 you, and of being so far consider'd by you,
 that I could give a copious account both
 of your person and Studies, to those in whom
 your curious discoveries had kindled that
 esteem:

esteem for you, which all the World payeth both to you and to your immortal Inquiries into Nature, which are among the peculiar Blessings of this Age: and that are read with no less care and pleasure in *Italy* than in *England*. This was so well received, that I found the great advantage of this Honour I did myself in assuming the glorious Title of one of your Friends, and I owe a great part of that distinction which I met with, to this favourable Character that I gave my self; so that if I made any progress in the Inquiries that so short a stay could enable one to make, I owe it in so peculiar a manner to you, that this return that I make, is but a very small part of that I owe you, and which I will be endeavouring to pay you to the last moment of my Life.

T H

THE FOURTH LETTER.

From Nimmegen, the 20. of May 1686.

SIR,

I Thought I had made so full a point at the conclusion of my last Letter, that I should not have given you the trouble of reading any more Letters of the Volume of the former: But new Scenes and new matter offering themselves to me, I fancy you will be very gentle to me, if I ingage you again to two or three Hours reading. From Civita Vecchia I came to Marseilles, where if there were a Road as safe as the Harbour is covered; and if the Harbour were as large as it is convenient, it were certainly one of the most important places in the World; all is so well defended, that it is with respect either to Storms or Enemies the securest Port that can be seen any where. The Freedoms of this place, tho it is now at the mercy of the Citadel, are such, and its situation draweth so much Trade to it, that there one seeth
ano-

another appearance of wealth then I found in any Town of France, and there is a new street lately built there, and for the beauty of the buildings, and the largeness of the street, is the Noblest I ever saw. There is in that Port a perpetual heat, and the Sun was so strong in the Christians week, that I was often driven off the Key. I made a Turn from thence through Provence, Languedoc, and Dauphine. I will offer you no account of Nismes, nor of the Amphitheatre in it, or the Pont du Gar near it; which as they are stupendious things, so they are so copiously described by many, and are so generally known to the English Nation, that if you have never gone that way your self, yet you must needs have received so particular a relation of them from those that have seen them on their way to Montpellier, that I judge it needless to enlarge upon them: Nor will I say any thing of the Soil, the Towns, or any other remarkable things that I found there,

I have much a stronger inclination to say somewhat concerning the persecution which I saw in its rage and utmost fury; and of which I could give you many instances that are so much beyond all the common measures of barbarity and cruelty, that I confess they ought not to be beleaved, unless I could give more positive proofs of them, then are fitting now to be brought forth: and the particulars that I could tell you are such, that if I should relate them with the necessary circumstances of time,

time, place, and persons, these might be so fatal to many that are yet in the power of their enemies, that my regard to them restrains me. In short I do not think that in any Age there ever was such a violation of all that is sacred, either with relation to God or Man. And what I saw and knew there from the first hand, hath so confirmed all the Ideas that I had taken from Books of the cruelty of that Religion, that I hope the impression that this hath made upon me shall never end but with my life: The applauses that the whole Clergy give to this way of proceeding, the many Panegiricks that are already writ upon it, of which, besides the more pompous ones that appear at Paris, there are numbers writ by smaller Authors in every Town of any note there; and the Sermons that are all flights of flattery upon this subject, are such evident demonstrations of their sense of this matter; that what is now on foot may be well termed the Act of the whole Clergy of France, which yet hath been hitherto esteemed the most moderate part of the Roman Communion. If any be more moderate than others; and have not so far laid off the human nature as not to go entirely into those bloody practices, yet they dare not own it, but whisper it in secret as if it were half-Treason: but for the greater part, they do not only magnifie all that is done, but they animate even the Dragons to higher degrees of rage: and there is such a heat spread over all the Country,

on

on this occasion, that one could not go into any Ordinary, or mix in any promiscuous Conversation, without finding such Effects of it, that it was not easie for such as were touch'd with the least degree of Compassion for the miseries that the poor Protestants suffered, to be a Witness to the Insultings that they must meet with in all places. Some perhaps imagine that this hath not been approved in *Italy*, and it is true there were not any publick Rejoicings upon it at *Rome*: No Indulgences nor *Te Deums* were heard of: And the *Spanish* Faction being so prevalent there, it is not strange if a Course of Proceedings, that is without an Example, was set forth, by all that were of that interest, in its proper Colours; of which I met with some Instances my self, and could not but smile to see some of the *Spanish* Faction so far to forget their Courts of Inquisition as to argue against the Conversions by the *W*Dragoons, as a Reproach to the Catholick Religion; yet the Pope was of another mind for the Duke *d'Estres* gave him an account of the Kings proceedings in this matter very copiously, as he himself related it. Upon which the Pope approved all, and expressed the great satisfaction in every thing that the King had done in that matter; and the Pope added that he found some Cardinals [as I remember the Duke *d'Estres* said two] were not pleased with it, and had taken the Liberty to censure but the Pope said, they were to blame: The Duke *d'Estres* did not name the two Cardinals.

animals, tho he said he beleevved he knew who
 they were : and it is very like that Cardinal
 was one , for I was told that he spoke
 freely enough of this matter. I must take the
 liberty to add one thing to you, that I do not
 see that the French King is to be so much bla-
 med in this matter as his Religion is, which,
 without question , obligeth him to extirpate
 hereticks , and not to keep his faith to them:
 that instead of censuring him , I must only
 lament his being bred up in a Religion that
 doth certainly oblige him to devest himself of
 humanity, and to violate his faith, whensoever
 because of his Church and Religion requireth
 it. Or if there is any thing in this conduct
 that cannot be entirely justified from the prin-
 ciples of that Religion, it is this, that he doth
 put the Hereticks to death out of hand,
 that he forceth them, by all the extre-
 mities possible, to sign an abjuration, that all
 the World must needs see is done against their
 Consciences : and this being the only end of
 their Miseries , those that would think any
 sort of death a happy conclusion of their suffer-
 ings, seeing no prospect of such a glorious
 issue out of their Trouble , are prevailed on
 by the many lingring deaths of which they see
 the King end, to make Shipwrack of the Faith :
 his appearance of mercy in not putting
 them to death, doth truly verifie the cha-
 racter that Solomon giveth of the tender
 mercies of the wicked , that they are

But

But I will stop here, tho it is not easie to retire from so copious a Subject, that affordeth so much matter, so upon many accounts raiseth a heat of thought that is not easily governed. I will now lead you to a Scene that giveth less Passion.

I pass the Winter at Geneva, with more satisfaction than I had thought it was possible for me to have found any where out of England: tho that received great alliaies from the most lamentable Stories that we hear every day from France: but there is not Sorrow by which the Heart is made better, ought to make the most publick acknowledgements possible for the extraordinary Cruelties that I met with in any one particular, but that is too low a Subject to entertain you with it. That which pleased me most was of a more publick nature, before I came to Geneva, the numbers of the English there was such, that I found we could make a small Congregation. For we were 12. or 14. so I address'd my self to the Council for liberty to have our own Worship, and our own Language, according to the English Liturgy. This was immediatly granted in so obliging a manner, that there was not one Person that made any exception to it, and they sent one of their body to me, to let me know that in case our number should grow to be so great, that it were fit for us to assemble in a Church they would grant us what which had been done in 2. Maries reign.

at till then we might hold our assemblies
 we thought fit. So after that time,
 during the rest of my stay there, we had
 every Sunday our devotions according to the
 Common Prayer Morning and Evening: and
 the Evening Prayer. I preached in a Room
 that was indeed too large for our small
 company, but there being a considerable
 number in Geneva that understand English
 in particular some of the Professors and
 Ministers we had a great many strangers
 that met with us; and the last Sunday I gave
 the Sacrament according to the way of the
 Church of England, and upon this occasion
 found a general joy in the Town, for this
 that I had given them an opportunity of ex-
 pressing the respect they had for our Church,
 as in their publick Prayers they alwaies
 prayed for the Churches of Great Britain,
 as well as for the King, so in private
 discourse they shewed all possible esteem for
 our Constitutions, and they spoke of the
 unhappy divisions among us, and of the
 separation that was made from us, upon
 account of our Government and Cere-
 monies with great regret and dislike. I shall
 say to you only two of their Professours
 as they are men of great distinction so
 were the Persons with whom I conversed
 most. The one is Mr. Turretin, a man
 of great learning, that by his indefatigable
 study and labour has much worn out and
 lost his strength: amidst all the affluence
 of

of a great plenty of Fortune to which was born, one discerns in him all the destiny of a humble and mortified temper, of an active and fervent Charity, proportioned to his abundance or rather beyond and there is in him such a melting zeal for Religion, as the present conjuncture for, with all the seriousness of Piety Devotion which shews it selfe both in private Conversation and in his most edifying sermons by which he enters deep into the Consciences of his Hearers. The other is Tronchin, a man of a strong Head, and a clear and correct Judgment; who has his thoughts well digested: his Conversation has an ingaging charm in it that cannot be resisted. He is a man of extraordinary virtue and of a readiness to oblige and serve persons, that has scarce any measures. His Sermons have a sublimity in them that strikes the hearer as well as it edifies him. His thoughts are noble, and his Eloquence is Masculine and exact, and has all the Majesty of the chair in it tempered with the softness of persuation, so that he not only convinces his hearers, but subdues them and triumphs over them. In his Company it was no wonder if time seemed to go off too fast, so that I left Geneva with a concern that I could not have been in leaving any place out of the Isle of Brittain.

From Geneva, I went a second time thro

Switzerland to Basil; at Avanche I saw the
 ble fragments of a great Roman work, which
 ms to have been the Portico to some Tem-
 : the heads of the Pillars are about four
 square of the Ionick Order: The
 mple hath been dedicated to Neptune or
 the Sea-god; for on the Fragments of the
 chitrave, which are very beautiful, there
 Dolphins and Sea-horses in bas-reliefs;
 the neighborhood of the place to the Lakes
 Yverdum and Morat maketh this more
 ent: there is also a Pillar standing up in
 full heighth, or rather the corner of a
 ding, in which one seeth the rests of a
 ular Architecture in two ranks of Pillars:
 the ground near this were carefully searcht,
 doubt it would discover more rests of that
 ick. Not far from this is Morat; and a
 e on this side of it is a Chappel, full of the
 es of the Burgundians that were killed by
 Switzers, when this place was besieged
 the famous Charls Duke of Burgundy,
 lost a great Army before it, that was en-
 cut off by the besieged; the inscription
 ry extraordinary, especially for that Age:
 the bones being so piled up that the
 pel is quite filled with them; the in-
 on bears that Charls Duke of Burgun-
 Army having besieged Morat, *Hoc sui*
mentum reliquit, had left that Monu-
 behind it. It cannot but seem strange
 e that views Morat to Imagine how it
 possible for a Town so scituated, and so
 slight-

slightly fortified to hold out against so powerful a Prince and so great an Army that brought Canon before it. I met with nothing remarkable between this and Basil, except that I staid some time at Bern, and knew better; and at this second time it was, that My Lord Advoyer d'Elach gave order to shew me the Original Records of the famous Process of the four Dominicans; upon which I have retouched the Letter that I writ to you last year, so that I now send it to you with the Corrections and Enlargements; the this second stay at Bern gave me occasion to make.

Basil is the Town of the greatest extent of all Switzerland; but it is not inhabited in proportion to its extent. The Rhine makes a crook before it: and the Town is scituate on a rising ground, which hath a noble effect on the eye, when one is on the Bridge, it looketh like a Theater. Little Basil on the other side of the Rhine, is almost fourth part of the whole: the Town is surrounded with a Wall and Ditch, but is so exposed on so many sides, and hath so dreadful a neighbour within a quarter of a League of it, the Fort of Huning, that hath nothing to trust to, humanly speaking but its Union with the other Cantons. The maxims of this Canton have hindered its being better peopled than it is, the advantages of the Burghership are such that the Citizens will not share them with strangers, and

means they do not admit them. For I
 told that during the last War, that
 was so often the seat of both Armies,
 having then a neutrality, it might have
 been well filled, if it had not been for
 a maxim: And it were a great happiness
 all the Cantons, if they could have dif-
 ferent degrees of Burgerhip, so that the
 lower degrees might be given to strangers for
 encouragement to come and live among
 us: and the higher degrees which qualifie
 for the advantageous imployments of the
 State, might be reserved for the ancient Fa-
 milies of the Natives. Basel is divided into
 ten Companies, and every one of these
 has four Members in the little Council, so
 that it consisteth of sixty four: But of those
 twenty, two are chosen by the Company it
 self who are called the Masters, and the other
 eighteen are chosen by the Council out of the
 Company; and thus as there are two sorts
 of Councillers, chosen in those different
 ways, there are also two chief Magi-
 strates. There are two Burgermasters that
 serve by turns, and two Zunft-Masters that
 also serve their turns, and all is for life:
 the last are the heads of the Companies,
 the Romans Tribuns of the People. The
 Council of the State-House is ancient: there
 is a good painting in fresco upon the
 wall, one peice hath given much offence
 to the Papists, tho they have no reason
 to blame the Reformation for it: since it
 was

was done several years before it, in the year 1510. It is a Representation of the Day of Judgment, and after Sentence given, the Devil is represented driving many before him to Hell, among these there is a Pope, and several Ecclesiasticks. But it is beleev'd that the Council which sate so long in this place, acting so vigorously against the Pope, engaged the Town into such a hatred of the Papacy, that this might give the Rise to this Representation. The more learned in the Town ascribe the beginning of the Custom in *Basil* of the Clock anticipating the time a full Hour, to the fixing of the Council, and they say that in order to the advancing of Business, and the shortning their Sessions, they ordered their Clocks to be set forward an Hour, which continueth to this day. The Cathedral is a great old Gothick Building; the Chamber where the Council sate, is of no great Reception, and is a very ordinary Room; *Erasmus's* Tomb is only a plain Inscription upon a great Brass Plate; There are many of *Holbein's* Pictures here, who was a Native of *Basil*, and was recommended by *Erasmus* to King *Henry the VIII.* the two best are *Corpus*, or *Christ dead*, which is certainly one of the best Pictures in the World: There is another peice of his in the Stadt-House, for there is in the publick Library of about three or four Foot square; in which, in six several Cantons, the several parts of our Saviour

Passion are represented with a life and beauty
 that cannot be enough admired; it is valued
 at ten thousand Crowns; it is on Wood,
 but hath that Freshness of colour still on it,
 that seems peculiar to *Holben's* Pencil. There
 is also a Dance that he painted on the Walls of
 an House where he used to drink, that is so worn
 out that very little is now to be seen, ex-
 cept shapes and postures; but these shew
 the exquisiteness of the hand. There is ano-
 ther longer Dance that runneth all along the
 side of the Convent of the *Agustians*,
 which is now the French Church, which is
 Deaths Dance; there are above threescore
 figures in it at full length of persons of all
 ranks, from Popes, Emperors and Kings,
 down to the meanest sorts of people, and of
 all ages and professions, to whom Death
 appeareth in an insolent and surprizing posture,
 and the several passions that they express
 are so well set out, that this was certainly a
 great design. But the fresco being exposed
 to the Air, this was so worn out some time
 agoe, that they ordered the best Painter
 they had to lay new colours on it, but this
 is so ill done that one had rather see the dead
 shadows of *Holben's* Pencil, then this course
 work. There is in Basil a Gun-Smith
 that maketh Wind-Guns, and he shewed
 me one that as it received at once Air for ten
 shot, so it had this peculiar to it, which
 he pretends is his own Invention, that he
 can discharge all the Air that can be parcel-
 led out in ten shot at once, to give a home
 M blow

blow. I confess those are terrible instruments and it seems the interest of mankind to forbid them quite, since they can be imploied to assassinate persons so dextrously, that neither noise nor fire will discover from what hand the shot cometh. The Library of Basil is, by much the best in all Switzerland, there is a fine collection of Meddals in it, and a very handsome Library of Manuscripts; the Room is noble, and disposed in a very good method. Their Manuscripts are chiefly the Latine Fathers, or Latine Translations of the Greek Fathers, some good Bibles, they have the Gospels in Greek Capitals, but they are viously writ in many places: there is an infinite number of the Writers of the darker Ages, and there are Legends and Sermons without number. All the Books that were in the several Monasteries at the time of the Reformation were carefully preserved: and they beleve that the Bishops who sate here in the Councel, brought with them a great many Manuscripts which they never carried away. Among their Manuscripts I saw four of Huls's Letters that he writ to the Bohemians the day before his death, which are very devout, but excessively simple. The Manuscripts of this Library are far more numerous then those of Bern, which were gathered by Bongarsius, and left by him to the publick Library there: they are indeed very little considered there, and are the worst kept that ever I saw: But it is a Noble collection of all the ancient Latine Au-

thors, they have some few of the best of the Roman times, writ in great Characters, and there are many that are seven or eight hundred years old. There is in Basil one of the best collections of Medals that ever I saw in private hands; together with a Noble Library, in which there are Manuscripts of good antiquity that belongs to the Family of Fesch, and that goeth from one learned man of the Family to another: for this Inheritance can only pass to a man of Learning, and when the Family produceth none, then it is to go to the publick. In Basil as the several Companies have been more or less strict in admitting some to a Freedom in the Company, that have not been of the Trade, so they retain their Priviledges to this day. For in such Companies that have once received such a number that have not been of the Trade as grew to be the majority, the Trade hath never been able to recover their interest. But some Companies have been more cautious, and have never admitted any but those that were of the Trade, so that they retain their interest still in Government. Of these the Butchers were named for one, so that there are alwaies four Butchers in the Council. The great Council consisteth of two hundred and forty, but they have no Power lest them, and they are only assembled upon some extraordinary Occasions, when the little Council thinketh fit to communicate any important matter to them. There are six Baliaiges that belong to Basil which

are not unplaiments of great advantage; for the best of them doth afford to the Bailif only a thousand livres a year: They reckon that there are in Basil three thousand men that can bear Arms, and that they could raise four thousand more out of the Canton, so that the Town is almost the half of this State, and the whole maketh thirty Parishes. There are eighteen Professors in this University; and there is a Spirit of a more free and generous Learning stirring there, then I saw in all those parts. There is a great decency of habit in Basil and the garb both of the Councellers, Ministers and Professors, their stiff Ruffs, and their long Beards, have an Air that is August. The appointments are but small; for Councellers, Ministers and Professors have but a hundred Crowns a peice: It is true many Ministers are Professors so this mendeth the matter a little: but perhaps it would go better with the State of Learning there, if they had but half the number of Professors, and if those were a little better encouraged. No where is the rule of St. Paul [of Women having on their Heads the badge of the authority under which they are brought, which by a Phrase that is not extraordinary he calleth power] better observed then at Basil; for all the married Women go to Church with a Coif on their heads, that is so folded, that as it cometh down so far as to cover their eyes, so another folding covereth also their Mouth and Chin, so that

nothing but the nose appears, and then all turns backward in a folding that hangeth down to their midleg. This is alwaies white, so that there is there such a sight of white heads in their Churches as cannot be found any where else: The unmarried Women wear hats turned up in their brims before and behind: and the brims of the sides being about a foot broad, stand out far on both hands: This Fashion is also at Strasburg, and is worn there also by the married Women.

I mentioned formerly the constant danger to which this place is exposed from the neighborhood of Huningh, I was told that at first it was pretended that the French King intended to build only a small Fort there, and it was believed that one of the Burgo-masters of Bazil, who was thought not only the wisest man of that Canton, but of all Switzerland, was gained to lay all men asleep, and to assure them that the suffering this Fort to be built so near them, was of no importance to them, but now they see too late their fatal Error: For the place is great, and will hold a Garrison of three or four thousand Men; it is a Pentagone, only the side to the Rhine is so large, that if it went round on that side, I believe it must have been a Hexagone; the Bastions have all Orillons, and in the middle of them there is a void space, not filled up with Earth, where there is a Magazine built so thick in the Vault that it is proof against Bombs; The Ramparts

are strongly faced, there is a large Ditch, and before the Cortine, in the middle of the Ditch, there runs all along a Horn-work which is but ten or twelve Foot high; and from the bottom of the Rampart, there goeth a Vault to this Horn-work, that is for conveying of men for its defence: before this Horn-work there is a half Moon, with this that is peculiar to those new Fortifications, that there is a Ditch that cuts the Half-Moon in an Angle, and maketh one half Moon within another: Beyond that there is a Counter-scarp about twelve Foot high above the Water, with a covered way, and a glacé designed, tho' not executed. There is also a great Horn-work besides all this, which runs out a huge way with its out-works towards Basil; there is also a Bridge laid over the Rhine, and there being an Island in the River, where the Bridge is laid, there is a Horn-work that filleth and fortifieth it. The Buildings in this Fort are beautiful, and the Square can hold above four thousand Men; the works are not yet quite finished, but when all is compleated, this will be one of the strongest Places in Europe: There is a Cavalier on one or two of the Bastions, and there are half Moons before the Bastions, that the Switzers see their danger now, when it is not easie to redress it. This Place is situated in a great Plain, so that it is commanded by no rising ground on any side of it. I made a little Turn into Alsace, as far as Mountpel-liard; the Soil is extream rich, but it has

been so long a Frontier Country; and is, by consequence, so ill peopled, that it is in many places over-grown with Woods: In one respect it is fit to be the seat of War, for it is full of Iron-works which bring a great deal of money into the Country. I saw nothing peculiar in the Iron-works there (except that the sides of the great Bellows were not of Leather but of wood, which saves much money) so I will not stand to describe them. The River of the Rhine, all from Basil to Spire, is so low, and is on both sides so covered with woods, that one that cometh down in a Boat hath no sight of the Country: The River runneth sometimes with such a force, that nothing but such woods could preserve its Banks, and even these are not able to save them quite, for the Trees are often washed away by the very Roots, so that in many places those Trees ly along in the Channel of the River: It hath been also thought a sort of a Fortification to both sides of the River, to have it thus faced with Woods, which maketh the passing of men dangerous, when they must march for some time after their Passage through a *defile*. The first night from Basil we came to *Brisac*, which is a poor and miserable Town, but it is a noble Fortification, and hath on the West-side of the River, over which a Bridge is laid, a regular Fort of four or five Bastions. The Town of *Brisac* riseth all on a Hill which is a considerable height; there were near it two Hills, the one is taken within the Fortification, and the o-

ther is so well levelled with the ground, that one cannot so much as find out where it was; All the ground about for many miles is plain, so that from the Hill, as from a Cavalier, one can see exactly well, especially with the help of a Prospect, all the motions of an Enemy in case of a Siege: The Fortification is of a huge compass, above a French league, indeed almost a German league; the bastions are quite filled with Earth, they are faced with brick, and have a huge broad Ditch full of Water around them, the Counterscarp, the covered Way, which hath a Palisade within the Parapet, and the Glacis, are all well executed; there is a half Moon before every Cortine: the bastions have no Orillons except one or two, and the Cortines are so disposed that a good part of them defendeth the bastion. The Garrison of this place in time of War must needs be eight or ten thousand men; there hath not been much done of late to this place only the Ditch is so adjusted that it is all defended by the flanks of the bastions. But the noblest place on the Rhine is Strasburg: it is a Town of a huge extent, and hath a double Wall and Ditch all round it: the inner Wall is old and of no strength, nor is the outward Wall very good, it hath a faussebraye, and is faced with brick twelve or fifteen foot above the Ditch: the Counterscarp is in an ill condition, so that the Town was not in case to make any long resistance; but it is now strongly fortified. There is a Cittadel built on that side that goeth to-
wards

wards the Rhine, that is much such a Fort as that of *Huningh*, and on the side of the Cittadel towards the Bridge, there is a great Horn-work that runs out a great way with out-works belonging to it; there are also small Forts at the two chief Gates that lead to *Alsace*, by which the City is so bridled, that these can cut off all its Communication with the Country about, in case of a Revolt: the Bridge is also well fortified: there are also Forts in some Islands in the *Rhine*, and some Redoubts: so that all round this Place there is one of the greatest Fortifications that is in *Europe*.

Hitherto the Capitulation with relation to Religion hath been well kept, and there is so small a number of new Converts, and these are for the greatest Part so Inconsiderable, they not being in all above two Hundred as I was told, that if they do not imploy the new fashioned Missionaries *a la Dragonné*, the old ones are not like to have so great Harvest there as they promised themselves, though they are Jesuits. The *Lutherans* for the greatest part retain their Animosities almost to an equal degree both against *Papists* and *Calvinists*. I was in their Church, where if the Musick of their Psalms pleased me much, the Irreverence in Singing, it being free to keep on, or put off the Hat, did appear very strange to me: The Churches are full of Pictures, in which the chief Passages of our Saviours Life are represented: but there is no sort of Religious respect payed them, they bow when they name the Holy Ghost, as well as at the Name of Je-

sus: but they have not the Ceremonies that
 the Lutherans of Saxony use, which Mr. Je-
 bes, their Professor of Divinity, said was a great
 Happiness, for a Similitude in outward Rites
 might dispose the ignorant people to change
 too easily. I found several good People both
 of the Lutheran Ministers and others, ac-
 knowledg that there was such a Corruption
 of Morals spread over the whole City, that as
 they had justly drawn down on their Heads the
 plague of the loss of their Liberty, so this ha-
 ving toucht them so little they had reason to
 look for severer strokes: One seeth, in the
 ruine of this City, what a mischievous thing the
 popular pride of a free City is: they fancied
 they were able to defend themselves, and so
 they refused to let an Imperial Garrison come
 within their Town: for if they had received
 only five hundred Men, as that small num-
 ber would not have been able to have oppress
 their Liberties, so it would have so secured the
 Town that the French could not have besie-
 ged it, without making War on the Empire:
 but the Town thought this was a diminution
 of their Freedom, and so chose rather to pay
 a Garrison of three thousand Soldiers, which
 as it exhausted their Revenue, and brought
 them under great Taxes, so it proved too weak
 for their defence when the French Army
 came before them. The Town begins to sink
 in its Trade, notwithstanding the great Cir-
 culation of Money that the Expence of the
 Fortifications hath brought to it: but when
 that is at an End, it will sink more sensibly, for

it is impossible for a place of Trade, that is to have always eight or ten Thousand Soldiers in it, to continue long in a Flourishing State. There was a great animosity between two of the chief Families of the Town, Dietrick and Obrecht, the former was the Burgomaster, and was once almost run down by a Faction that the other had raised against him: but he turned the Tide, and got such an advantage against Obrecht, who had writ somewhat against the Conduct of their affairs, that he was condemned and beheaded for writing Libels against the Government. His Son is a Learned Man, and was Professor of the Civil Law: and he to have his turn of revenge against Dietrick, went to Paris last Summer, and that he might make his Court the better, changed his Religion. Dietrick had been always looked on as one of the chief of the French Faction, tho he had been at first an Imperialist, so it was thought that he should have been well rewarded; yet it was expected that to make himself capable of that, he should have changed his Religion, but he was an ancient Man, and would not purchase his Court at that rate: so without any Reason given, and against the express Words of the Capitulation, he was confined to one of the midland Provinces of France, as I remember it was Limosin; and thus he that hath been thought the chief cause of this Towns falling under the Power of the French, is the first Man that hath felt the Effects of it. The Library here is considerable, The Case is a great

great Room very well contrived, for it is divided into Closets all over the body of the Room, which runs about these as a Gallery, and in these Closets all round, there are the Books of the several Professions lodged apart : There is one for Manuscripts in which there are some of considerable Antiquity. I need say nothing to you of the vast height, and the Gothick Architecture of the Steeple, and of the great Church, nor of the curious Clock, where there is so vast a variety of Motions, for these are well known. The Bas reliefs upon the tops of the great Pillars of the Church are not so visible, but they are surprizing, for this being a Fabrick of three or four Hundred Years old, it is very strange to see such Representations as are there. There is a Procession represented, in which a Hog carrieth the Pot with the Holy Water, and Asses and Hogs in Priestly Vestments follow to make up the Procession; there is also an Ass standing before an Altar, as if he were going to Consecrate, and one carrieth a Case with Reliques, within which one seeth a Fox, and the trains of all that go in this Procession, are carried up by Monkies. This seems to have been made in hatred of the Monks whom the Secular Clergy abhorred at that time, because they had drawn the Wealth, and the following of the World after them, and they had exposed the Secular Clergy so much for their ignorance, that it is probable, after some Ages, the Monks falling under the same contempt,

the

the Secular Clergy took their turn in exposing them in so lasting a Representation to the scorn of the World. There is also in the Pulpit a Nun cut in Wood, lying along, and a Friar lying near her with his Breviary open before him, and his Hand under the Nuns habit, and the Nuns feet are shod with Iron Shoos. I confess I did not look for these things, for I had not heard of them, but my Noble Friend, Mr. *Ablancourt* viewed them with great exactness, while he was the French Kings Resident at *Strasburg*, in the Company of one of the Magistrates that waited on him; and it is upon his Credit, to which all that know his eminent Sincerity, know how much is due, that I give you this Particular.

From *Strasburg* we went down to the *Rhine* to *Phillipsburg*, which lieth at a quarter of a Miles distance from the River, it is but a small Place, the Bastions are but little: There is a Ravelline before almost all the Cortines, and there lye such Marshes all round it, that in these lieth the chief strength of the Place, The French had begun a great Crown-work on the side that lieth to the *Rhine*, and had cast out a Horn-work beyond that; but by all that appears, it seems they intended to continue that Crown-work quite round the Town, and to make a second Wall and Ditch all round it; which would have enlarged the Place vastly, and made a Compass capable enough to lodge above ten Thousand Men: and this would have been

been so terrible a Neighbour to the Palatinate and all Franconia that it was a Master-piece in Charles Lewis, the late Elector Palatine, to engage the Empire into this Siege: He saw well how much it concerned him to have it out of the Hands of the French, so that he took great Care to have the Duke of Lorraine's Camp so well supplied with all things necessary during the Siege, that the Army lay not under the least uneasiness all the while. From thence in three Hours time we came to Spire, which is so naked a Town that if it were attacked, it could not make the least resistance. The Town is neither great nor Rich, and subsisteth chiefly by the Imperial Chamber that sitteth here, tho' there is a constant dispute between the Town and the Chamber concerning Priviledges, for the Government of the Town, pretends that the Judges of the Chamber, as they are private Men, and out of the Court of Judicature, are subject to them; and so about a Year ago they put one of the Judges in Prison: On the other hand the Judges pretended that their Persons are Sacred. It was the Consideration of the Chamber that procured to the Town the Neutrality that they enjoyed all the last War. I thought to have seen the forms of this Court, and the way of laying up, and preserving their Records, but the Court was not then sitting. The Building, the Halls and Chambers of this famous Court are mean beyond Imagination, and look liker the Halls of some small Com-

pany, than of so great a Body ; and I could not see the places where they lay up their Archives : The Government of the City is all Lutheran, but not only the Cathedral is in the Hands of the Bishop and Chapter, but there are likewise several Convents of both Sexes, and the Jesuits have also a Colledge there. There is little remarkable in the Cathedral, which is a huge Building in the Gothic manner of the worst sort. The Tombs of many Emperors that lie Buried there, are remarkable for their meaness ; they being only great Flag-stones laied on some small Stone Ballisters of a Foot and a half high, there are also the Marks of a ridiculous Fable concerning St. *Bernard*, which is too foolish to be related, yet since they have taken such Pains to preserve the remembrance of it, I shall venture to write it. There are from the Gate all along the Nef of the Church up to the Steps that go up to the Quire, four round Plates of Brass, above a foot Diameter, and at the distance of thirty Foot one from another ; laid in the Pavement, on the first of these is Engraven : *O Clemens* ; on the second, *O Pia*, on the third, *O Felix* ; and on the fourth, *Maria* : The last is about thirty Foot distant from a Statue of the Virgins : so they say that St. *Bernard* came up the whole length of the Church at four steps, and that those four plates were laid where he stept ; and that at every step he pronounced the Word that is Engraven on the Plate, and when he

he came to the last, the Image of the Virgin answered him. *Solve Bernarde*: upon which he answered, *let a Woman keep silence in the Church*, and that the Virgins Statue has kept silence ever since, this last part of the Story is certainly very credible. He was a man of Learning that shewed me this; and he repeated it so gravely to me, that I saw he either believed it, or at least that he had a mind to make me believe it: and I asked him as gravely if that was firmly believed there, he told me that one had lately writ a Book to prove the truth of it; as I remember, it was a Jesuit: he acknowledged it was not an Article of Faith, so I was satisfied. There is in the Cloister an old Gothick representation of our Saviours Agony in stone, with a great many Figures of his Apostles, and the Company that came to seize him, that is not ill Sculpture, for the Age in which it was made, it being some Ages old. The Calvinists have a Church in this Town, but their numbers are not considerable: I was told there were some ancient Manuscripts in the Library, that belongeth to the Cathedral: but one of the Prebendaries to whom I addressed myself, being according to the German custom, a man of greater quality then learning, told me he heard they had some ancient Manuscripts, but he knew nothing of it, and the Dean was absent, so I could not see them, for he kept one of the keys. The lower Palatinate is certainly one of the sweetest Countries of all

all Germany: It is a great Plain till one cometh to the Hills of Heidelberg: the Town is ill scituated, just in a bottom between two ranges of Hills, yet the Air is much commended: I need say nothing of the Castle, nor the prodigious Wine Cellar, in which, tho there is but one celebrated Tun that is seventeen foot high, and twenty six foot long, and is built with a strength liker that of the Ribs of a Ship, then the Staves of a Tun; yet there are many other Tuns of such a prodigious bigness, that they would seem very extraordinary if this vast one did not Eclisp them. The late Prince Charles Lewis shewed his capacity in the peopling and settling this State, that had been so intirely ruined, being for many years the Seat of War, for in four years time he brought it to a Flourishing condition: He raised the Taxes as high as was possible without dispeopling his Country, all mens Estates were valued, and they were taxed at five *per cent.* of the value of their Estates; but their Estates were not valued to the rigour, but with such abatements as have been ordinary in England in the times of Subsidies; so that when his Son offered to bring the Taxes down to two per cent of the real value; the Subjects all desired him rather to continue them as they were. There is no Prince in Germany that is more absolute then the Elector Palatine, for he laieith on his Subjects what Taxes he pleaseth, without being limited to any forms of Government. And here

here I saw that which I had always believed to be true, that the Subjects of *Germany* are only bound to their particular Prince, for they Swear Allegiance simply to the Elector without any reserve for the Emperor, and in their Prayers for him they name him their Sovereign. It is true, the Prince is under some ties to the Emperor, but the Subjects are under none. And by this *D. Fabricius* a learned and judicious Professor there, explained those words of *Pareus's* Commentary on the Romans, which had respect only to the Princes of the Empire: and were quite misunderstood by those who fancied that they favoured Rebellion; for there is no place in *Europe* where all rebellious Doctrine is more born down than there. I found a great Spirit of Moderation, with relation to those small Controversies that have occasioned such Heat in the Protestant Churches, reigning in the University there, which is in a great Measure owing to the Prudence, the Learning, and the happy Temper of Mind of *D. Fabricius*, and *D. Meck*; who as they were long in *England*, so they have that generous largeness of Soul, which is the Noble Ornament of many of the English Divines. Prince *Charles Lewis* saw that *Manheim* was marked out by Nature to be the most important Place of all his Territory, it being Scituated in the point where *Neckar* falleth into the *Rhein*, so that those two Rivers defending it on two sides, it was capable of a good Fortification. It is true, the Air is not thought wholsome

and the Water is not good, yet he made a fine Town there, and a Noble Cittadel with a regular Fortification about it, and he designed a great Palace there, but he did not live to Build it. He saw of what advantage Liberty of Conscience was to the Peopling of his Country, so as he suffered the *Jews* to come and settle there, he resolved also not only to suffer the three Religions tolerated by the Laws of the Empire to be professed there, but he built a Church for them all three, which he called the Church of the Concord, in which both *Calvinists*, *Lutherans*, and *Papists* had, in the order in which I have set them down, the Exercise of their Religion, and he maintained the Peace of his Principality so entirely, that there was not the least disorder occasioned by this Toleration: This indeed made him to be lookt on as a Prince that did not much consider Religion himself: He had a wonderful application to all affairs, and was not only his own chief Minister, but he alone did the work of many.

But I were unjust if I should not say something to you of the Princely Vertues and the Celebrated Probity of the present Pr. Elector upon whom that Dignity is devolved by the Extinction of so many Princes that in this Age composed the most numerous Family of any of that Rank in *Europe*. This Prince as he is in many Respects an Honour to the Religion that he Professes, so is in nothing more to be commended by those who differ from him, than for his exact adhering to the Promises

mises he made his Subjects, with relation to
 their Religion, in which he has not even in
 the smallest Matters, broke in upon their es-
 tablished Laws, and tho' an order of Men
 that have turned the World upside down,
 have great Credit with him, yet it is hitherto
 visible, that they cannot carry it so far, as
 to make him do any thing contrary to the
 established Religion; and so those sacred
 Promises that he made his Subjects. For he
 makes it appear to all the World that he does
 not consider those as so many Words spoken
 first to lay his People asleep; which he may
 now explain and observe as he thinks fit; but
 as so many ties upon his Conscience and Ho-
 nour, which he will religiously observe. And
 as in the other Parts of his Life he has
 a noble Pattern to all the Princes of Europe
 so his Exactness to his Promises, is that
 which cannot be too much commended
 of which this extraordinary Instance has been
 Communicated to me since I am come into
 this Country. The Elector had a Procession
 in his Court last *Corpus Christi* Day, upon which
 one of the Ministers of *Heidelberg* preach-
 ed a very severe Sermon against Popery
 and in particular, taxed that Procession perhaps
 with greater plainness than discretion: The
 being brought to the Electors Ears, he sent
 presently an Order to the Ecclesiastical Senate
 to suspend him. That Court is composed of
 some Secular Men, and some Churchmen and
 as the Princes Authority is delegated to them
 so they have a sort of an Episcopal Jurisdiction

diction over all the Clergy. This order was a
 surprize to them, as being a direct breach upon
 their Laws, and the liberty of their Religion:
 so they sent a Deputation to Court, to let the
 Elector know the Reasons that hindred them
 from obeying his Orders, which were heard
 with so much Justice and Gentleness that their
 Prince, instead of expressing any displeasure a-
 gainst them, recalled the order that he had sent
 them. The way from *Heidelberg* to *Frankfort*,
 for the first twelve or fifteen Miles, the beau-
 tifullest piece of Ground that can be imagined;
 for we went under a ridge of little Hills, that
 are all covered with Vines, and from them, as
 far as the Eye can go, there is a Beautiful
 plain of Corn-fields and Meadows, all sweetly
 divided and enclosed with rows of Trees, so
 that I fancied I was in Lombardy again, but
 with this advantage, that here all was not of
 one piece, as it is in Lombardy: but the Hills as
 they made a pleasant inequality in the Prospect,
 so they made the Air purer, and produced a
 pleasant Wine: The way near *Darmstat*
 and all forwards to *Franckfort*, becometh more
 wild and more Sandy: There is a good Sub-
 urb on the South-side of the Main, over a-
 gainst *Frankfort*, which hath a very confi-
 derable Fortification; there is a double
 Wall, and double Ditch that goeth round
 it, and the outward Wall, as it is regular-
 ly fortified, so it is faced with Brick to a con-
 siderable heighth. The Town of *Frank-*
fort is of a great Extent, and seemed to be
 but about a third Part less than *Strasburg*:
 The

The three Religions are also tolerated there, and tho' the number of the Papists is very inconsiderable, yet they have the great Church, which is a huge rude Building; they have also several other Churches, and some Convents there. There are several open Squares for Market-places, and the Houses about them look very well without. Among their Archives they preserve the Original of the *Bulla Aurea*, which is only a great Parchment writ in High Dutch, without any Beauty answering to its Title: and since I could not have understood it, I was not at the Pains of desiring to see it, for that is not obtained without Difficulty. The Lutherans have here built a new Church, called *S. Katherins*, in which there is as much painting as ever I saw in any Popish Church, and over the high Altar there is an huge carved Crucifix, as there are painted ones in other places of their Church: The Pulpit is extremely fine of Marble of different Colours very well polished and joined: I was here at Sermon, where I understood nothing, but I liked one thing that I saw both at *Strasburg*, and here, that at the end of Prayers, there was a considerable Interval of Silence left before the Conclusion, for all Peoples private Devotions. In the House of their public Discipline, they retain still the old Roman *Pilgrina* or Hand-mill, at which lewd Women are condemned to grind, that is, to drive about the Wheel that maketh the Millstone go. There is a great number of Jews there

tho their two Synagogues are very little, and by consequence the numbers being great, they are very nasty. I was told they were in all above twelve Hundred. The Women had the most of a tawdry Imbroidery of Gold and Silver about them that ever I saw, for they had all Mantles of Crape, and both about the top and the bottom, there was a Border above a Hand breadth of Imbroidery. The Fortification of *Frankfort* is considerable, their Ditch is very Broad, and very full of Water; all the Bastions have a Countermine that runneth along by the brim of the Ditch; but the Counterscarp is not faced with Brick as the Walls are, and so in many places it is in an ill condition; the covered way and glacé are also in an ill case. The Town is rich, and driveth a great Trade, and is very pleasantly scituated. Not far from hence is *Hackam* that yieldeth the best Wine of those parts. Since I took *Frankfort* in my way from *Heidelberg* to *Mentz*, I could not pass by *Worms*, for which I was sorry. I had a great mind to see that place where *Luther* made his first appearance before the Emperor, and the Diet, and in that solemn audience expressed an undaunted Zeal for that glorious cause in which God made him such a blessed Instrument. I had another piece of curiosity on me which will perhaps appear to you somewhat ridiculous. I had mind to see a picture that as I was told is over one of the Popish Altars there, which one would think was invented by the Enemies of

Tran-

Transubstantiation to make it appear ridiculous. There is a Windmill, and the Virgin throws Christ into the Hopper, and he comes out at the Eye of the Mill all in Wafers, which some Priests take up to give the People. This is so coarse an Emblem, that one would think it too gross even for Laplanders, but a Man that can swallow Transubstantiation it self, will digest this likewise. *Mentz* is very nobly situated on a rising Ground, a little below the Conjunction of the two Rivers, the *Rhine* and the *Main*; It is of too great a Compass, and too ill Peopled to be capable of a great Defence: There is a Cittadel upon the highest part of the Hill that commandeth the Town; it is Compassed about with a dry Ditch, that is considerably deep. The Walls of the Town are faced with Brick, and regularly fortified, but the Counter carp is not faced with Brick, so all is in a sad Condition; and the Fortification is weakest on that side where the Electors Palace is. There is one side of a new Palace very nobly built in a regular Architecture, only the *Germans* do still retain somewhat of the Gothick manner. It is of a great Length, and the design is to build quite round the Court, and then it will be a very Magnificent Palace, only the Stone is red; for all the Quarries that are upon the *Rhine*, from *Basil* down to *Coblentz* are of red Stone, which doth not look beautiful. The Elector of *Mentz* is an absolute Prince: His Subjects present Lists of their Magistrates to him, but he is not tied to them

them, and may name whom he will : The Ancient Demeasne of the Electorat is about forty Thousand Crowns : But the Taxes rise to about three hundred Thousand Crowns : so that the Subjects here are as heavily taxed as in the Palatinate, There is twelve Thousand Crowns a year given the Elector for his Privy Purse, and the State bears the rest of his whole expence : It can Arm ten Thousand Men, and there is a Garrison of two Thousand Men in *Mentz* : This Elector hath three Councels, one as he is Chancellour of the Empire, consisting of three Persons. The other two are for the Policy and Justice of his Principality. He and his Chapter have Months by turns for the Nomination of the Prebends. In the month of *January* he names if any dies, and they choose in the Room of such as die in *February*, and so all the year round. The Prebendaries or Domeheers have about three thousand Crowns a year apiece. When the Elector dieth, the Emperour sendeth one to see the Election made, and he recommendeth one, but the Cannons may chuse whom they please ; and the present Elector was not of the Emperours recommendation. Besides the Palace at *Mentz*, the Elector hath another near *Frankfort*, which is thought the best that is in those parts of *Germany* ; The Cathedral is a huge Gothick Building ; there is a great *Cupole* in the West-end, and there the Quire singeth Mass : I could not learn whether this was done only because the place here was or

greater reception than at the East-end, or if any burying place and indowment obliged them to the West-end. Near the Cathedral there is a huge Chappel of great *Antiquity*, and on the *North Door* there are two great Brass gates with a long Inscription, which I had not time to write out, but I found it was in the Emperour Lothariu's time. There are a vast Number of Churches in this Town, but it is poor and ill Inhabited. The Rhine here is almost half an English mile broad, and there is a Bridge of Boats laid over it. From *Mentz* all along to *Buccharach* (which seems to carry its Name (*Bacchi Ara*) from some Famous Altar that the Romans probably erected by reason of the good Wine that grows in the neighbourhood.) There is a great Number of very considerable Villages on both sides of the River: Here the Rats Tower is shewed, and the people of the Country do all firmly beleieve the story of the Rats eating up an Elector, and that tho the Fled to this *Island* where he Built a small high Tower, they pursued him still, and eat him up: and they told us that there was some of his Bones to be seen still in the Tower. This extraordinary Death make me call to mind a very particular and unlooked for sort of Death, that carried off a poor Labourer of the ground a few days before I left *Geneva*. The foot of one of his Cattel, as he was Ploughing, went into a nest of Wasps, upon which the whole swarm came out, and set upon him that held the Plough, and killed him in a very little time; and his body was prodigiously swelled with the Poison of so many stings. But to return to the Rhine, all the way from *Baccharach* down to *Coblentz*, there is on both sides of the River hanging grounds, or little Hills, so laid as if many of them had been laid by Art, which produce the rich Rhenish Wine: They are indeed as well exposed to the Sun, and covered from Storms, as can be Imagined: and the ground on those Hills, which are in some places of a considerable height, is so cultivated that there is not an inch lost that is capable of improvement, and this bringeth so much wealth into the Country, that all along there is a great Number of considerable Villages. *Coblentz* is the strongest place that I saw of all that belong to the Empire; the situation is Noble, the Rhine running before it, and the Moselle passing along the side of the Town; it is well fortified, the Ditch is large, the

Counterfort

Counterſcarp is high, and the covered way is in a good condition, both Walls and Counterſcarp are faced with Brick, and there are Ravelines before the Cortines ; but on the ſide of the *Moselle* it is very ſlightly fortified, and there is no Fort at the end of the ſtone Bridge that is laid over the *Moselle*, ſo that it lieth quite open on that ſide, which ſeemeth a ſtrange defect in a place of that Conſequence : But tho the Fortifications of this place are very conſiderable, yet its chief defence lieth in the Fort of *Hermanſtan*, which is built on the top of a very high Hill, that lieth on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, and which commandeth this place ſo abſolutely, that he who is Maſter of *Hermanſtan*, is always Maſter of *Coblentz*. This belongeth to the Eleſtor of *Triers*, whoſe Palace lieth on the Eaſt-ſide of the *Rhine*, juſt at the foot of the Hill of *Hermanſtan*, and over againſt the point where the *Moselle* falleth into the *Rhine*, ſo that nothing can be more pleaſantly ſituated ; only the ground begins to riſe juſt at the back of the Houſe with ſo much ſteepneſs that there is not Room for Gardens or walks. The Houſe maketh a great ſhew upon the River, but we were told that the Apartments within were not anſwerable to the outſide. I ſay we were told, for the German Princes keep ſuch forms, that, without a great deal of ado, one cannot come within their Courts, unleſs it be when they are abroad themſelves ; ſo that we neither got within the Palace at *Mentz*, nor this of *Hermanſtan*, It is but a few Hours from this to *Bonne*, where the Eleſtor of *Colen* keepeth his Court ; the place hath a regular Fortification, the Walls are faced with Brick ; but tho the Ditch, which is dry, is pretty broad, the Counterſcarp is in ſo ill a condition, that it is not able to make a great defence. This Eleſtor is the Nobleſt born, and the beſt provided of all the German Clergy, for he is Brother to the great *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria* ; and beſides *Colen*, he hath *Liège*, *Munſter*, and *Hidelſheim*, which are all great *Biſhopricks* : He hath been alſo ſix and thirty years in the Eleſtorate : His Palace is very mean, conſiſting but of one Court, the half of which is caſt into a little Garden, and the Wood-yard is in the very Court ; the lower part of the Court was a ſtable : but he hath made an apartment here that is all furniſhed with Pictures : where, as there are ſome of the hands of the greateſt Maſters, ſo there are

a great many foils to set these off; that are scarce good enough for Sign-posts.

The Elector has a great many gold medalls which will give me occasion to tell you one of the Extravagantest pieces of forgery that perhaps ever was; which happened to be found out at the last siege of *Bonne*: for while they were clearing the ground for planting a Battery, they discovered a vault in which there was an Iron Chest that was full of medalls of Gold to the value of 100000 Crowns: and of which I was told the Elector bought to the value of 30000 Crowns. They are huge big, one weighed 800 Ducats, and the Gold was of fineness of Ducat gold: but tho they bore the Impressions of Roman Medalls or rather Medallions they were all Counterfeit; and the Imitation was so coarsely done that one must be extream ignorant in Medalls to be deceived by them. Some few that seemed true were of the late *Greek* Emperours. Now it is very unaccountable what could induce a Man to make a forgery upon such mettle, and in so vast a quantity, and then to bury all this under ground, especially in an Age in which so much Gold was ten times the value of what is at present, for it is judged to have been done about four, or five hundred years ago.

The Prince went out a hunting while we were there with a very handsome Guard of about fourscore Horse, well mounted; so we saw the Palace, but were not suffered to see the Apartment where he lodged: There is a great silver Casiolette gilt, all set with Emeralds and Rubies, that tho they made a fine appearance, yet were a Composition of the Princes own making: His Officers also shewed us a Bason and Ewer, which they said were of Mercury fixed by the Prince himself; but they added that now for many years he wrought no more in his Laboratory. I did not easily believe this, and as the weight of the Plate did not approach to that of Quick-Silver, so the Medicinal Vertues of fixed Mercury, if there is any such thing, are so extraordinary, that it seemed very strange to see twenty or thirty Pound of it made up in two pieces of Plate. A quarter of a mile without the Town, the best Garden of those parts of Germany is to be seen, in which there is a great variety of Water-works and very many Noble Allies in the French manner, and the whole it of a

very

very considerable extent; but as it hath no statues of any value to adorn it, so the House about which it lieth in is in ruins; and it is strange to see that so rich and so great a Prince, during so long a Regence, hath done so little to enlarge or beautifie his Buildings. *Bonne* and *Colentz* are both poor and small Towns. *Colen* is three Hours distant from *Ponrie*, it is of a prodigious extent, but ill built and worse peopled in the remote parts of it: and as the Walls are all in an ill case, so it is not possible to fortifie so vast a compass as this Town maketh, as it ought to be, without a charge that would eat out the whole Wealth of this little State. The Jews live in a little Suburb on the other side of the River, and may not come over without leave obtained, for which they pay considerably. There is no exercise of the Protestant Religion suffered within the Town; but those of the Religion are suffered to live there; and they have a Church at two Miles distance. The Arsenal here, is suitable to the Fortifications, very mean, and ill furnished. The Quire of the great Church is as high in the roof, as any Church I ever saw: but it seemeth the Wealth of this place could not finish the whole Fabrick, so as to answer the height of the Quire, for the Body of the Church is very low: Those that are disposed to beleieve Legends, have enough here to overset even a good degree of credulity, both in the story of the three Kings, whose Chappel is visited with great devotion, and standeth at the East end of the great Quire; and in that more copious Fable of the eleven thousand Ursulins, whose Church is all over full of rough Tombs, and of vast number of Bones that are piled up in rows about the Walls of the Church: These Fables are so firmly beleieved by the Papists there, that the least sign which one giveth of doubting of their truth, passeth for an infallible mark of an Heretick. The Jesuites have a great and noble colledge and Church here. And for Thauler's sake I went to the *Dominicans* House and Church, which is also very great. One grows extreemly weary of walking over this great Town, and doth not find enough of entertainment in it: The present subject of their discourse is also very melancholy: The late Rebellion that was there, is so generally known, that I need not say much concerning it. A report was set about the Town, by some Incendiaries, that the

Magistrates

Magistrates did eat up the publick Revenue, and were like to ruine the City; I could not learn what ground there was for these reports, for it is not ordinary to see reports of that kind fly, through a body of men, without some foundation: It is a certain this came to be so generally beleaved, that there was a horrible disorder occasioned by it: The Magistrates were glad to save themselves from the storm, and abandoned the Town to the popular fury, some of them having been made sacrifices to it; and this rage held long: But within this last year, after near two years disorder, those that were sent by the Emperor and *Diet* to Judge the matter, having threatned to put the Town under the Imperial *Bann*, if it had stood longer out, were received;—and have put the Magistrates again in the possession of their Authority, and all the chief Incendiaries were clapt in Prison: many have already suffered, and a great many more are still in Prison: they told us that some executions were to be made within a week when we were there. Dusseldorp is the first considerable Town below *Collen*, it is the Seat of the Duke of *Juliers*, who is Duke of *Newburg*, eldest Son to the present Elector *Palatine*. The Palace is old and Gothick enough: but the Jesuits have there a fine Colledge, and a noble Chappel, tho there are manifest faults in the Architecture: the Protestant Religion is tolerated and they have a Church lately built here within these few years, that was procured by the Intercession of the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who observing exactly the liberty of Religion that was agreed to in *Cleve*, had reason to see the same as duly observed in his Neighbourhood, in favor of his own Religion. The Fortification here is very ordinary, the Ramparts being faced but a few foot high with Brick. But *Keiserswart* some hours lower on the same side which belongeth to the Elector of *Collen*, tho it is a much worse Town then *Dusseldorp*, yet is much better fortified: it hath a very broad ditch and a very regular Fortification: the Walls are considerably high, faced with Brick and so is the Counterscarp which is also in a very good condition. The Fortification of *Ossey* is now quite demolished. *Rhineberg* continueth as it was, but the Fortification is a very mean, only of Earth, so that it is not capable of making a great resistance. And *Wetel*, tho it is a very fine Town, yet is a

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poor Fortification, nor can it ever be made good, except at a vast expence: for the ground all about it being sandy, nothing can be made there that will be durable, unless the foundation go very deep, or that it be laid upon *Pilory*. In all these Towns one sees an other air of Wealth and abundance then in much Richer Countries that are exhausted with taxes. Rees and Emmerick are good Towns, but the Fortifications are quite ruined. So that here is a rich and a populous Country, that hath at present very little defence, except what it hath from its situation. Cleve is a delicious place, the situation and prospect are charming, and the Air is a very pure, and from thence we came hither in three hours.

I will not say one word of the Countrey into which I am now come, for as I know that is needless to you on many accounts, so a Picture that I see here in the Stadthouse, puts me in mind of the perfectest Book of its kind that it perhaps in being, for Sir William Temple, whose Picture hangeth here at the upper end of the Plenipotentiaries, that negotiated the famous Treaty of *Nimwegen*, hath indeed been a pattern to the World, which is done with such life, that it may justly make others blush to copy after it, since it must be acknowledged, that if we had as perfect an account of the other places, as he hath given us of one of the least, but yet one of the Noblest parcels of the Universe, Travelling would become a needless thing, unless it were for diversion: since one findeth no further occasion for his curiosity in this Country, then what is fully satisfied by his rare performance. Yet I cannot give over writing, without reflecting on the resistance that this place made, when so many other places were so basely deliv'ered up, tho' one doth not see in the ruins of the Fortification here, how it could make so long a resistance: yet it was that that stem'd tide of a progress that made all the World stand amazed; and it gave a little time to the Dutch to recover themselves out of the consternation, into which so many blows, that came so thick one after another, had struck them.

But then the World saw a change, that tho' it had not had so much Influence given to it, as the happy conjuncture of another Prince hath drawn after it, with so much excess, that all the topicks of flattery seem exhausted by it, yet
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will appear to posterity one of the most surprizing Scenes in History, and that which may be well matched with the recovery of the Roman State after the Battel of *Canne*. When a young Prince, that had never before born Arms, or so much as seen a Campagne, who had little or no Council about him but that which was suggested from his own thoughts, and that had no extraordinary advantage, by his Education either for literature or affairs, was of a sudden set at the head of a State and Army, that was sunk with so many losses; and that saw the best half of its Soil torn from it; and the powerfulest Enemy in the World, surrounded with a Victorious army that was commanded by the best Generals that the Age hath produced, come within sight, and settle his Court in one of the best Town, and had at the same time the greatest force both by Sea and Land, that hath been known, united together for its destruction. When the Inhabitants were forced, that they might save themselves from so formidable an Enemy, to let loose that which on all other occasions, is the most dreadful to them; and to drown so great a part of their Soil for the preservation of the rest: and to complicate together all the miseries that a Nation can dread, when to the general consternation with which so dismal a Scene possessed them, a distraction within doors seemed to threaten them with the last strokes; and while their Army was so ill disciplined, that they durst scarce promise themselves any thing from such feeble Troops, after a Peace at Land of almost thirty years continuance; and while their chief Ally, that was the most concerned in their preservation, was, like a great Paralitick Body, liker to fall on those that it pretended to support, and to crush them, then to give them any considerable assistance: When I say a Young Prince came at the head of all this, the very prospect of which would have quite dampt an ordinary courage, he very quickly changed the Scene, he animated the Publick Councils with a generous vigour: he found them sinking into a feebleness of hearkning to Propositions for a Peace, that were as little safe as they were honourable, but he disposed them to resolve on hazarding all, rather than to submit to such Infamous Terms.

His credit also among the populace seemed to Inspire them with a new life: they easily perswaded themselves that as one *WILLIAM* Prince of *ORANGE* had formed their State so here another of the same name seemed marked out to recover and preserve it. It was this Spirit of Courage which he derived from his own breast, and Infused into the whole people, as well as into the Magistracy that preserved this Country. Some thing there was in all this that was Divine. The publick Councils were again settled, and the people were at quiet when they saw him vested with a full authority for that time with Relation to peace and War, and concluded they were safe, because they were in his hands. It soon appeared how faithfully he pursued the Interest of his Country, and how little he regarded his own. He rejected all Propositions of Peace that were hurtful to his Country, without so much as considering the advantages that were offered to himself, (in which you know that I write upon sure grounds.) He refused the offer of the Sovereignty of its Chief City, that was made to him by a solemn Deputation, being satisfied with that Authority which had been so long maintained by his Ancestors with so much glory, and being justly sensible, how much the breaking in upon established Laws and Liberties, is fatal even to those that seem to get by it. He thus began his publick appearance on the Stage, with all the disadvantages that a Spirit aspiring to true Glory could wish for; since it was Visible that he had nothing to trust to, but a good cause, a favourable Providence; and his own Integrity and Courage: nor was success wanting to such Noble beginnings; for he in a short time, with a Conduct and Spirit beyond any thing that the World hath yet seen, recovered this State, out of so desperate a distemper, took some places by main force, and obliged the Enemy to abandon all that they had acquired in so feeble a manner. And if a raw Army had not alwaies success against more numerous and better trained Troops, and if the want of *Magazins* and Stores in their Allies Country, which was the Chief *Scene* of the War, made that he could not post his Army, and wait for favourable Circumstances, so that he was sometimes forced to run to action, with a haste that his necessities imposed upon him; yet the forcing of the beginnings

of a Victory out of the hands of the greatest General of the Age, the facing a great Monarch with an Army much inferior to his, when the other was too cautious to hazard an engagement, and in short the forming the *Dutch* Army to such a pitch that it became visibly Superior to the *French*, that seemed to have been fed with Conquests; and the continuing the War, till the Prince that had sacrificed the quiet of *Europe* to his GLORY, was glad to come and treat for a Peace in the Enemies Country, and in this very place, and to set all Engines on work to obtain that, by the mediation of some, and the jealousies of other Princes: all these are such performances that posterity will be disposed to rank them rather among the *Idea's* of what an imaginary *Hero* could do, than with what could be really transacted in so short a time, and in such a manner. And in conclusion every place that belonged to these States, and to their Neighbours along the *Rhine*, together with a great many in *Flanders*, being restored; these Provinces do now see themselves under his happy Conduct, re-established in their former peace and security. And tho some scars of such deep wound do still remain, yet they find themselves considered on all hands, as the Bulwark of Christendom, against the fear of a new Monarchy, and as preservers of the peace and liberty of *Europe*.

Here is a Harvest, not for forced Rhetorick, or fall Eloquence, but for a severe and sincere *Historian*, capable of affording a work that will far exceed all those lascivious Panegyricks of Mercenary pens: but a small or a counterfeit Jewel must be set with all possible advantage when a true one of great value needs only to be shewed. I cannot end with a greater subject, and I must acknowledge my self to be so inflamed with this hint, that I cannot after this bring my pen down to lower matters so I dare not trust my self too long, to the heat of so Noble an Object inspires, therefore I break off abruptly.

YOURS.

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A D D E N D A.

Ad page 210. l. 22.

The same learned person has since my first conversation with him upon this subject, suggested to me two passages of Festus Pompeius, that seem to determine this whole matter: and that tell us by what names those Catacombs were known in the Roman time, whereabouts they were, and what sort of persons were laid in them, we have also the designation by which the bearers were commonly known, and the time when they carried out the dead bodies: and it appears particularly by them that in the repositories of which that author makes mention, there was no care taken to preserve the bodies that were laid in them from rotting. His words are. *Puticulos antiquissimum genus sepulturæ appellatos, quod ibi in puteis sepelirentur homines: qualis fuerit locus quo nunc cadavera projici solent, extra portam Esquilinam: quos quod ibi putescerent, inde prius appellatos existimat Aelius Gallus, qui ut antiqui moris fuisse, ut patres-familias in locum publicum extra oppidum mancippia vilia projicerent, atque ita projecta, quod ibi ea putescerent, nomen esse factum puticuli.* The other passage runs thus. *Vespæ & Vespillones dicuntur, qui funerandis corporibus officium gerunt, non a minutis illis volucris, sed quia vespertino tempore eos efferunt, qui funebri pompa duci propter inopiam nequeunt.* All this agrees so exactly to the thoughts that a general view of those re-

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positories give a Man, that it will not be hard to perswade him that those burying Places that are now graced with the Pompous Title of Catacombs, are no other than the *Puticoli* mentioned by *Festus Pompeius*, where the meanest sort of the *Roman* Slaves were layed, and so without any further Care about them, were left to rot.

Ad page 218. l. 1.

I have since my being in *Naples* instructed one that was going thither in this Particular, and have received this account from him, that he had taken Care to plum the Water at the furthest Pillar of *Caligula's* Bridge on the *Puzzollo* side: and found it was seven Fathom and a half deep: but he adds, that the Watermen assured him that on the other side before *Baia*, the Water was 26 Fathom deep: but as he had not a Plummer long enough to try that, so he believed a good deal ought to be abated; for the Waterman had assured him that the Water was ten fathom deep at the *Puzzollo* side, tho upon trial he found it was only seven and a half: and by this Measure one may suppose that the Water is 20 fathom deep on the other side: So that it is one of the most astonishing things that one can think of that Pillars of Brick could have been built in such a depth of Water.

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